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SAMUEL BEALY HARRISON : FORGOTTEN REFORMER

By George Metcalf

I

"A person very difficult to describe for want of salient points in his character." So Samuel Bealy Harrison, Provincial Secretary for Canada West, 1841 - 1843, is pictured by J. C. Dent in his book, *The Last Forty Years*.¹ This statement was probably quite accurate, but few historians indeed, over the decades, seem to have felt Harrison worth describing at all. It is noticeable that Dent's portrayal of the Secretary, which occupies somewhat less than two pages in his very large study, is the only work ever referred to as a biographical reference of Harrison. Yet surely there must have been some importance attached to the man whom Sydenham described to Lord John Russell as "the best man I have",² and whom Egerton Ryerson addressed as "the most prominent and leading member of the government."³ Nevertheless it was not until the publication of Chester Martin's *Empire and the Commonwealth* in 1929 that Harrison was brought into anything approximating his true perspective. Although Professor Martin devotes only a small number of pages to this period, his respect for the statesmanship of Harrison is easily seen.⁴ In actual fact, the position of Civil Secretary was a very important one indeed, and although Harrison held it for only a short time, those years were vital in the development of Responsible Government. Harrison, however, was a person who much preferred the background, and his character has been all too easily obscured by the more glittering political lights who fill these pages of Canadian history.

Born in Manchester on March 4, 1802,⁵ Harrison grew up at his father's home of Foxley Grove in Berkshire. At the age of seventeen he was admitted to The Honourable Society of the Middle Temple, and became a 'special pleader'. He eventually left this business to his brother Richard, and in 1832 he was called to the bar. Besides his actual law practice, he busied himself for the next few years in writing 'Harrison's Digests'—an analytical digest in four volumes of all the reported cases determined in the House of Lords, the Courts of Common Law in Banc and Nisi Prius, and the Court of Bankruptcy from 1756 to 1834. He also revised the standard edition of Woodfall's *Landlord and Tenant*. But the ill health which plagued him for most of his life finally compelled him

1. Dent, J. C. *The Last Forty Years* (Toronto, 1881), I, 85.

2. Knaplund, P., ed. *Letters from Lord Sydenham, Governor-General of Canada, 1839-1841 to Lord John Russell* (London, 1931), 146.

3. Sissons, C. B. *Egerton Ryerson* (Toronto, 1937), I, 581.

4. Martin, C. *Empire and Commonwealth* (Oxford, 1929), 270, 341.

5. Most of the sketch of Harrison's early life which follows is taken from his obituary in the *Upper Canada Law Journal* for August 1867.

to begin a new career in the outdoors of Upper Canada. He arrived in his adopted country in 1837 with Mary, his wife of six years, and settled near Bronte. Here he began to experiment as a farmer and miller. He bought a section of what had been the Mississauga Indian Reserve at the Twelve Mile Creek north of Bronte and built a grist and sawmill at the end of Mill Street which runs from the Creek to Highway No. 25.⁶ Another twist soon came in his career, however, for in June 1839, 'most unexpectedly to himself' he was requested to act as Private Secretary to Sir George Arthur, the last Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada.

When he then entered public service for the first time Harrison was a man of thirty-seven, taller than average, and of a ruddy and cheerful countenance. In his *Life of Lord Metcalfe*, Kaye gives a rather quaint description of Harrison's work habits. "Unassuming and unaffected, making no display of his talents, he still got through his business in such a manner as to justify a belief in their existence." To these descriptions, Chester Martin, from his research, has added one other word—"enigmatic".⁸ This is indeed true. It is amusing to read Hincks' letters and see how radically his opinions of Harrison changed back and forth, although there is often no corresponding wavering in Harrison's policies. Despite the fact that "his liberalism was at least undoubted" throughout his career, and that the Orillia Town Council once appealed for his dismissal as an extreme liberal,¹⁰ he was always on good terms with, and was respected by, all the governors under whom he served, including such conservatives as Arthur and Metcalfe. Despite the fact that his affability and good nature are always mentioned, he does not appear to have cultivated any real friendships with his colleagues. One other thing—had he resigned over some great issue as Draper did, his name might have come down more prominently to posterity. As it was, the question over which he left the government looks so small in retrospect as to be almost pathetic. This then is Harrison—a man of tremendous reserve, a man who never committed his opinions to paper and rarely in words, a man ever aloof, sometimes disliked, but always respected, a man of extreme disinterestedness, of stoical temperament, of an almost total lack of personal ambition other than the pragmatic desire to get things done and done well.

Harrison assumed his duties as private secretary to Arthur in the period of the 'Tory reaction' following the Rebellion. In view of his later record and the objectivity he showed throughout his life, it is doubtful if Harrison sanctioned such a reaction; but, typically, he served Arthur to the best of his ability. It is also noticeable at this time that when

6. Mathews, H. C. *Oakville and the Sixteen* (Toronto, 1953), 111, 481.

7. Kaye, J. W. *Life of Lord Metcalfe* (London, 1854), II, 487.

8. Martin, C. *op. cit.*, 261, 270.

9. Kaye, J. W. *op. cit.*, II, 487.

10. Leacock, S. *Baldwin, LaFontaine and Hincks* (Toronto, 1910), 189.

some of the Reformers slandered Sir Allan MacNab's business transactions, Harrison investigated the situation for Arthur, and presented a report completely exonerating the 'gallant Knight'.¹¹ For most of this period, however, Harrison appears to have worked quietly in the background, familiarizing himself with Upper Canada and its problems and becoming acquainted with the various personalities on the political scene of the day. At the same time he resumed his law practice, being admitted to the Law Society of Upper Canada in August 1839, and becoming a Justice of the Peace in the following year.¹²

The internal state of Upper Canada at this time was truly deplorable, and Harrison now began to display the interest in the country and its institutions that was so prominent throughout his life. He was one of the three commissioners appointed in 1839 to inquire into the state of education in Upper Canada with a view to improving and extending educational facilities,¹³ and this interest he always retained. On April 16, 1840, he read in the Legislative Council a paper regarding the problem of immigration and of the settling of immigrants. His minute displays a careful analysis of the situation, predicts a larger immigration for the future, and points out that total discontinuance of public works in the province meant that there would be little future employment for labourers. The only resort, he concluded, would be to settle them on the land, and he enumerates various places and ways in which this could be done.¹⁴ This was little indeed to stem the tide of disintegration in Upper Canada, but luckily a man with greater ability and as intense a desire to rectify the state of affairs appeared on the scene, in no less a person than the new Governor-General, Charles Poulet Thomson, the future Baron Sydenham.

When Sydenham arrived in the Canadas he found what might seem a hopeless situation. However he quickly set to work to cope with the manifold problems facing the Provinces and their inhabitants, and in a surprisingly short time he had organized the Union of the Canadas ordained by the British Parliament, and was preparing for the first election to the House of Assembly of the United Province. It was readily apparent that the grouping of parties in the coming Assembly would be composite and confused, and that it would not be easy for Sydenham to gain their confidence. The most congenial party the Governor would probably have to work with would be the moderate conservatives forming around William Henry Draper, but that group had little strength of numbers. Then there were the old Family Compact Tories, led by Sir Allan MacNab, but Sydenham himself did not choose to work with that "miserable

11. Sanderson, C. R., ed. *The Arthur Papers, Volume II* (Toronto, 1957), 450.

12. *The Harrison Papers* (Ontario Archives, Toronto).

13. Mathews, H. C. *op. cit.*, 111.

14. *Upper Canada State Papers* (Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa), Series E, Volume 24.

little oligarchy".¹⁵ On the other hand, he had little sympathy with the ultra-Reformers of Robert Baldwin, a party not yet cleansed of the taint of rebellion, and one which would inevitably ally itself with the large French-Canadian bloc in an attempt to force Responsible Government upon the reluctant Governor. Sydenham's solution was to gain the support of as broad a grouping as possible of the loosely-knit contingent of moderates who would probably be returned in large numbers to the coming House, and he wrote: "I can make a middle reforming party I am sure, which can put down both [Tories and 'ultras']".¹⁶ Such a party, however, needed a leader of outstanding prestige and ability in the Assembly to unite the many divergent shades of 'moderate' political opinion behind the Governor's programme. Sydenham thought he had found his man in the person of S. B. Harrison, whom he had come to know and respect for his work as Arthur's secretary. In particular, Sydenham wanted Harrison to fill the newly-created office of Provincial Secretary for Canada West, a position in large part similar to that in which Harrison had been employed under Arthur.

Accordingly when Harrison chose to run in Hamilton, the Governor threw himself actively into the campaign on his behalf. Unfortunately Harrison's opponent was no less a person than Sir Allan MacNab himself.¹⁷ The campaign was a spirited one, and when Robert Berrie, the Clerk of Peace in Hamilton (and thus a government appointee) came out and openly opposed Harrison, Sydenham summarily dismissed the man. This provoked great indignation, especially from MacNab, who was going to "make a man of Berrie yet", and "threatened destruction to the present administration in consequence of their imprudent proceedings".¹⁸ But though Sydenham alienated the Tories, his efforts on Harrison's behalf do not seem to have pleased the ultra-Reformers either, for Hincks (for one) greatly feared Harrison as a competitor for the support of many moderates whose votes the Baldwin Reformers hoped to gain. In a letter to LaFontaine, he confessed his fears "... I would rather have MacNab and I do not scruple to say so. Harrison will be a spy and a traitor in our Camp, always intriguing with weaker men and trying to influence them. I confess I dread such persons worse than our old and broken-

15. Scrope, G. P. *Life of Lord Sydenham* (London, 1844), 164.

16. *Ibid.*, 164.

17. Turcotte, L. P. *Canada Sous l'Union, 1841-1867* (Quebec, 1871-2), 66, mentions that Sydenham had MacNab oppose Harrison as part of his plan to reduce the power of the Family Compact. But in actual fact it appears that it was MacNab who decided to run against Harrison, for Hincks comments that "The Governor-General is very wroth at MacNab for opposing Mr. H[arrison]."—Hincks to LaFontaine, February 14, 1841, in *The LaFontaine Papers* (Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa).

18. Miscellaneous Correspondence to the Lieutenant-Governor's Office Addressed to S. B. Harrison and James Hopkirk. E. Cartwright to Harrison, March 17, 1841 (*Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa*).

down enemies".¹⁹ When the results were counted, however, it was seen that MacNab had won a handy victory.

Badly disappointed, Sydenham now had Harrison try again—this time in Kent. The result was still another disappointing and humiliating defeat at the hands of one Joseph Woods. The matter was finally settled by giving Anthony Manahan, the member for Kingston, the post of Collector of Customs in Toronto. Harrison was then returned in that seat by acclamation, largely, J. C. Dent would have us believe, because of the fear of the inhabitants that Sydenham might move the seat of government away if Harrison were not elected!²⁰

The results of the election over the Province as a whole, however, were not too displeasing to Sydenham since the largest single group in the Assembly was the moderate reformers, and they "had confidence in Mr. Secretary Harrison".²¹ Moreover, they could combine with Draper's moderate conservatives to form what J. L. Morison calls "a party almost precisely similar to that which in 1867 was called Liberal-Conservative".²² The Executive Council named by Sydenham included, besides Harrison, Draper as Attorney-General, the brilliant but unscrupulous R. B. Sullivan as President of the Council, and C. R. Ogden and C. D. Day, the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General of Canada East, both staunch Tories. Of somewhat different cast were H. H. Killaly, at this time Minister Without Portfolio, and Dominick Daly, Provincial Secretary East, both Irishmen, both extremely likeable individuals, both knowing and caring little about politics, but both of some administrative capabilities. Daly, who seemed to have felt no cause ever worth resigning over, continued in his position through seven years of constantly-changing ministries, and has gone down in history as 'the perpetual secretary' and 'the last of the old bureaucracy'. Hincks intimates that nobody really minded his devotion to office because Daly rather needed the money. The Receiver-General, John Henry Dunn, was a confirmed Reformer, and, the biggest surprise of all, the Solicitor-Generalship for Canada West was accepted by Robert Baldwin, leader of the 'ultras' and friend of the French.

In this composite ministry, Harrison, the moderate, held a very pivotal position. Baldwin's appearance in the cabinet was due to the fact that he could hardly have refused Lord Sydenham's request for his co-operation. Equally he hoped to use the opportunity to capture the moderate reform members for his views and thereby win a great victory out of difficult circumstances. Under these conditions the ultra Reformers' views of Harrison changed in most striking fashion. Hincks had already

19. The LaFontaine Papers (Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa), Hincks to LaFontaine, November 11, 1840.

20. Dent, J. C. *op. cit.*, I, 85.

21. Hincks, Sir F. *Reminiscences* (Montreal, 1884), 58.

22. Morison, J. L. *British Supremacy and Canadian Self-Government, 1839-54* (London, 1916), 105.

reversed his former decision and had written to a dubious LaFontaine "although I have opposed Harrison a good deal, I believe him a really liberal man", and again that "he is at heart a liberal and hated by the Tories", and "You may think as you like of Harrison and I admit he will go no further than he can help, but I feel pretty confident that neither he nor Dunn will separate from Baldwin".²³ To LaFontaine's doubts about Baldwin's accepting a position in the Council, Hincks wrote reassuringly that Baldwin was "incorruptible", would resign before long, and that "the great point was to carry Dunn with them, and also Daly, Harrison, and Killaly".²⁴ Baldwin, too, was urging Hincks to keep Harrison and Dunn before the public as men in whom the Reformers had confidence. Before long, however, Hincks began to fear, correctly, that "none of them will come up to the mark",²⁵ and when the time came and Baldwin declared his lack of confidence in all the cabinet except Dunn, Daly, Harrison and Killaly, none of these worthies reciprocated. It was Baldwin alone who resigned, and Sydenham was able to bear his departure from the Council with equanimity and 'without regret'. How could it have been otherwise? Daly and Killaly were 'non-political' men, and loyal to whatever administration was in power. Harrison was a reformer, and Dunn much more so, but both were closer to Sydenham than was Baldwin and in a position to observe and recognize his great abilities. Both were reasonable and practical men; the Province was in a terribly depressed state, and this was no time to foment crises or play party politics.

Due to his electoral mishaps, Harrison arrived in the Assembly after the session of June, 1841 had already begun. He assumed, however, the role of Government leader in the House. His beginning was rather inauspicious and showed awkwardness with parliamentary procedure. He attempted to beg free of a House committee appointed to investigate the election result in Niagara on the grounds that he already had too many responsibilities. Then, having exposed himself to attacks by Small, MacNab, and Hincks, intimating that he lacked a true public spirit, he retreated ignominiously and accepted the unwelcome task.²⁶ But as the session wore on Harrison proved his worth, rising often to defend the Government's policies. No orator, his speeches were short, colourless, and rather dry—in great contrast to those of Draper—but they were always explicit and to the point.

On July 14, 1841 one of Harrison's more important bills involved him in a bitter debate. This was the District Councils Act, a bill "to provide for the better internal government of that part of the Province, heretofore Upper Canada, by the establishment of local municipal author-

23. The LaFontaine Papers. See letters from Hincks to LaFontaine, December 15, 1840; April 6, 1841; April 19, 1841.

24. Ibid. Hincks to LaFontaine, May 29, 1841.

25. Ibid. Hincks to LaFontaine, May 29, 1841.

26. *The Mirror of Parliament, 1841* (Ontario Archives, Toronto), June 12, 1841.

ities therein".²⁷ He was loudly attacked from both the right and the left, as Tories and Reformers strove to outdo one another in the violence of their invective. The completely differing motives of the two groups made their comments particularly amusing. Viger claimed that the bill added to the power of the executive government to an extent "for which there is no example in the whole civilized world". Sir Allan MacNab, on the other hand, was appalled by the "unprecedented liberalism" of the measure, and called it "exceedingly obnoxious", a "monstrous abortion". Harrison was then supported by Hincks, Malcolm Cameron, Morin, and Colonel Prince, but Cartwright rose to claim that the bill would pave the way for the introduction of Republican Institutions. Neilson shouted that it was "in reality a complete system of despotism", and Aylwin charged that "the measure is essentially despotic and tyrannical. The power of this House is exceedingly small, and it is perfectly evident that it is the intention of this bill to deprive us of what little remains of power we have. It is a deadly blow aimed at the House itself". But Harrison continued in defense of the measure, claiming he would "hold to the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill", and placing the support of the entire government behind it. Ultimately under his careful but firm piloting the bill passed the Assembly, and Upper Canada received its first measure of local self-government, a step of vital significance in the advance of democratic institutions in the Province. Exactly how much credit is due Harrison for framing the bill is impossible to say. Any decision drawn up by the Executive Council as a whole would naturally be presented in the Assembly by Harrison as government leader. Moreover, every figure in this period is dimmed by the magical brilliance of Sydenham, who often seems to have done everything by himself. Nevertheless, from Harrison's continual interest and work in the field of public welfare, one may deduce that he was indeed important in framing the measure, and in actual fact, many years later, Judge R. S. Woods was to term him the "father" of Ontario's municipal institutions.²⁸

Equally Harrison must have played a significant role in the administrative re-organization of Upper Canada, one of Sydenham's greatest and most lasting achievements. He sat on the newly-created Board of Works from December 21, 1841 to October 3, 1844, during the most important years in the Province's rehabilitation. And further, in his capacity as Provincial Secretary he occupied a commanding place in this field. Sydenham himself explained to Lord John Russell that "to these gentlemen [i.e. the two Civil Secretaries] will be entrusted the whole internal management of the Province".²⁹

27. *Ibid.*, July 14, 1841.

28. Woods, R. S., Judge. *Harrison Hall and its Associations* (Chatham, 1896), 13.

29. Shortt, A. *Lord Sydenham* (Toronto, 1910), 331.

On September 3, 1841, the long and difficult session of the Province's first Legislative Assembly reached its climax when Robert Baldwin arose to offer his long-awaited challenge, his celebrated resolutions for Responsible Government. The administration was placed in a very embarrassing position. It was extremely doubtful whether the majority of the moderates on whom the Government relied would vote down the resolutions, nor was it even likely that Harrison desired such a course. On the other hand, to have accepted Baldwin's resolutions would probably have broken up the Council, and would have meant a concession on Sydenham's part to the ultra-Reformers that the Governor-General was determined not to make. While the debate was in progress Harrison and Sydenham were busy drafting another set of resolutions which Harrison was able to present in the Assembly as an alternative to those of Baldwin. In this fashion the administration hoped to satisfy its followers' sympathies for Baldwin's ideas while at the same time avoiding the acceptance of his leadership and the open admission that on the constitutional question at least, the ultra-Reformers' views were in the majority. The Harrison Resolutions were as follows:

1. That the most important, as well as the most undoubted, of the political rights of the people of this Province is that of having a Provincial Parliament, for the protection of their liberties, for the exercise of a constitutional influence over the Executive Departments of their Government, and for Legislation upon all matters of internal Government.

2. That the head of the Executive Government of the Province being, within the limits of his Government, the Representative of the Sovereign, is responsible to the Imperial authority alone; but that, nevertheless, the management of our local affairs can only be conducted by him, by and with the assistance, counsel and information, of subordinate Officers in the Province.

3. That in order to preserve, between the different branches of the Provincial Parliament, that harmony which is essential to peace, welfare and good Government, of the Province, the chief Advisors of the Representative of the Sovereign, constituting a Provincial Administration under him, ought to be men possessed of the confidence of the representatives of the people, thus affording a guarantee that the well understood wishes and interests of the people, which our Gracious Sovereign has declared shall be the rule of the Provincial Government, will, on all occasions, be faithfully represented and advocated.

4. That the People of this Province have, moreover, a right to expect from such Provincial administration, the exertion of their best endeavours that the Imperial authority, within its constitutional limits, shall be exercised in the manner most consistent with their understood wishes and interests.³⁰

These Resolutions, skilfully drawn to approximate those of Baldwin, could scarcely be rejected by the Reformers; they were readily adopted by the Assembly, and the great battle was avoided. Nevertheless they have not enhanced Sydenham's prestige, although they have certainly added to the labours of historians who have sought to ascertain just what were Sydenham's real views on Responsible Government. The Kingston

30. Summarized from Martin, C. *op. cit.*, 262 (note), and Shortt, A. *op. cit.*, 360.

Chronicle commented at the time: "Mr. Baldwin rose to make certain unintelligible resolutions. Mr. Harrison moved in amendment some which as might call counter-resolutions, though they were precisely the same although the grammar was corrected. Mr. Baldwin very complacently yielded to his rival's superior knowledge of Lindley Murray. Everyone perceived that it was a farce, nobody interrupted the performers by any observation. The Magna Carta of responsible government is therefore now in the journals of the House, understand it who may".³¹ Undoubtedly the Harrison Resolutions were extremely clever politics; they eased the tension considerably, since they had been passed by the Government and not by the Opposition, and since the Government at least retained its shaky majority in the Assembly on the question. The session closed without further conflicts. To Sydenham this was merely tactical manoeuvring; in conceding Responsible Government in all but name, he was certainly not expressing his own true views which were 'to govern as he thought right'.³² Harrison, however, cannot be accused of equal duplicity and opportunism. Unlike Sydenham he actually did believe in Responsible Government, and as early as July 20, 1841, he had spoken in defense of that principle in the Assembly. In a debate concerning the establishment of a Board of Works which ranged somewhat ludicrously to the constitutional question, Harrison had tersely replied to some taunts of Colonel Prince, "The honourable member for Essex is exceedingly facetious on Responsible Government. It appears to me that it was unfortunate to come out in this way. The same responsibility which he finds so much fault with is the basis of every dispatch from the Home Government, and the foundation of the present Provincial one".³³

Although Harrison no doubt was rather premature in assuming that Responsible Government was already the "foundation" of the existing system in the Province, his definite sympathy for the principle posed a problem of some magnitude to Sir Charles Bagot, Sydenham's successor in the Governor-Generalship, who reached Kingston on December 10, 1841. By this time the administration was in serious need of reconstruction to strengthen it against renewed assaults by the Reformer-French coalition. On the one hand, Bagot contrived to draw the staunch reformer Francis Hincks into the Executive Council as Inspector-General: on the other, he sought Henry Sherwood, the arch-Tory Mayor of Toronto, in order to secure the support of the old Family Compact Tories, now enjoying the good graces of the Colonial Office thanks to MacNab's visit to England. The difficulty with appointing Sherwood, however, was that Harrison might be lost to the administration by this measure. Harrison, indeed, had welcomed the entry of Hincks into the Council because of

31. Wilson, G. E. *Life of Robert Baldwin* (Toronto, 1933), 141.

32. Scrope, G. P. *op. cit.*, 164.

33. *The Mirror of Parliament*, 1841, July 20, 1841.

his great financial ability and his reputation as a reformer. But Harrison was scarcely likely to show the same enthusiasm for a man of Sherwood's stripe, and his own resignation from the administration would mean a loss of the confidence of most moderate reformers and the probable defeat of the ministerial party.

Consequently, on July 2, 1842, after Bagot had definitely determined to take Sherwood into the Council, he wrote to sound out Harrison's opinion on the subject. During the long fortnight in which Bagot waited nervously for Harrison's reply, he unburdened himself upon Colonial Secretary Stanley in a letter of July 10: "My only fear in this movement is lest it should prove wormwood to Mr. Harrison, my *liberal* Colonial Secretary West . . . and induce him to resign, in which case he might possibly throw himself into the arms of Baldwin and the ultra-Reformers of the West". Bagot then went on to deal with other governmental problems—the inability to secure French-Canadian members in the Government either as individuals, because of their fear of being attacked as 'vendus', or in a body because they would likely demand repeal of the Union. He felt that LaFontaine was his only hope, but this step would mean the loss of support of the 'British Party' of Lower Canada—"a party with which I am in sufficiently bad odour already for my equal justice". He concluded gloomily "In short it is perplexing, infinitely perplexing".³⁴

Harrison had received Bagot's letter regarding Sherwood's appointment at a time when he was suffering from a heavy cold and was deeply bogged down in committee work. It seems likely, though, that his delay in replying was not for either of these reasons, but because he decided to utilize the opportunity to present Bagot with a thorough analysis of the political situation as a whole. Harrison's letter³⁵ began by disclaiming all personal motives and by saying that his only purpose was to strengthen the Government. If Sherwood's appointment would aid that end, he would support it, but he felt that the move would actually be highly injurious. He then approached the wider question of administration. In the present state of affairs the French held the balance of power, and the Government simply must have the majority of French Canadian members with them—"There is no disguising the fact that the French members possess the power of the country". To bring in the French, moreover, "is nothing more than justice". Harrison went on to show that the Government would no longer have a majority in the Assembly, proving his point by means of a detailed list of the way in which he was sure every member would vote. Harrison admitted having approved bringing in Hincks along with Cherrier or Duval, or some other

34. The Bagot Papers (Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa), Bagot to Stanley, July 10, 1842.

35. *Ibid.*, Harrison to Bagot, July 11, 1842.

French Canadian, and of following the policy of extension (i.e. of playing off one party against the other in the House and of drawing members of the Council from the different groups). Now, however, it was obvious that this method had failed. The French must come in, and come in as a body. Otherwise the Government was bound to fall, and the very appointments of Hincks and Sherwood would be enough to bring about that outcome. In that event, Harrison said, he himself would feel bound to resign because of the resolutions for Responsible Government which he had introduced in the previous year, and most of the Council would probably do likewise. Bagot would then have three choices. He might govern personally, throw himself on the country with a dissolution, or call for Baldwin and the French to form a ministry on their terms: "I do not for a moment suppose it possible to resort to the old system of government irrespective of the views of the House of Assembly—because the consequence of such a course would be fearful in the last degree . . . a dissolution in the present state of the country just recovering from its difficulties and requiring tranquillity more than anything else, would be an evil of gigantic character under any circumstances". Hence the only sensible course would be to summon Baldwin and the French: and this Bagot could do by himself beforehand, avoiding the humiliation and the problems of defeat.

When Bagot received Harrison's letter with the suggested solution to his "infinitely perplexing" problem he began to ponder, and on July 16 wrote a very noncommittal reply acknowledging receipt of the letter and promising only to give his "careful and unprejudiced consideration".³⁶ A few days later, however, Bagot received another long letter advocating much the same policy, this time from Attorney-General Draper.³⁷ It is likely that Draper's argument had at least as strong an effect on Bagot as did Harrison's, since the fact that Draper, a conservative, should be advocating such a policy and be willing to resign in order to implement it, must have proved far better than words that he believed the situation desperate indeed. But Harrison's letter is the clearer analysis of the two, and when Bagot wrote his momentous dispatch of July 28 to Stanley advocating the admission of the French, many of Harrison's thoughts and even a quotation from his letter were expressed.³⁸ Thus the importance of Harrison's argument is easily seen. Bagot, who was a man of justice, had always wanted to bring the French into the Government, but his letter to Stanley of July 10 makes it clear that he felt such a course at that time would produce a political disaster. In the next eighteen days the letters of Harrison and Draper succeeded in convincing the Governor-General that exactly the reverse was true, and that the entry of the

36. The Harrison Papers, Bagot to Harrison, July 16, 1842.

37. The Bagot Papers, Draper to Bagot, July 16, 1842.

38. *Ibid.*, Bagot to Stanley, July 28, 1842.

French was the only move that could forestall such a crisis. This, then, was possibly the greatest contribution of the quiet and inscrutable Provincial Secretary, and Chester Martin writes: "Harrison's influence here is unmistakeable, and his role is nothing less than the sponsor for the first demonstration of responsible government in Canada".³⁹

In the dramatic events of the following weeks Harrison played only a minor role. Bagot attempted to implement the advice of his moderate councillors' letters even in the face of Colonial Office disapproval. When the House met on September 8, 1842, he was forced to turn to the Reformer-French coalition. It fell to the eloquent William Henry Draper rather than the more prosaic Harrison, to carry out the Governor-General's plan of reading the correspondence between Bagot and LaFontaine before the Assembly in an effort to force Baldwin to terms. And it was Draper, too, who faced Baldwin's outraged cries condemning the reading of the 'secret' negotiations. However, when the fury had spent itself and calmer emotions prevailed, it was Harrison who brought the debate to an end and represented the existing ministry in the negotiations with LaFontaine and Baldwin which resulted in their entry into the Government. When the new ministry took office Harrison was able to continue as Provincial Secretary for Canada West while Draper departed from the executive.

The rest of Harrison's career is a denouement and will be dealt with briefly. He continued to serve Bagot and after the Governor-General's death in May 1843 held office under his successor Sir Charles Metcalfe. Harrison does not seem to have had any important disagreement with Baldwin or the other Reformers, but equally he maintained as strong a loyalty as ever to the Governor-General, despite Metcalfe's principles and his espousal of one of the courses which Harrison had so strongly condemned in his letter to Bagot. This does not mean that Harrison was ruled merely by a desire to retain office, for he was soon to leave it forever. When in late 1843 the decision was made to move the seat of government from Kingston to Montreal, the inhabitants of Kingston were thrown into a state of dismay. Harrison felt it his duty as the representative of that constituency to tender his resignation as a protest. It was an odd thing to do. He had no real personal attachment to Kingston, having come there third-hand, as it were, following defeats in Hamilton and Kent. Moreover, as he himself pointed out at a public meeting, he had never pledged himself to follow such a course.⁴⁰ He did, however, continue to support the Ministry until the end of the session.

This really ended Harrison's active political career, but later, to the consternation of the Reformers, it was thought he might return as a supporter of Metcalfe. When the famed Metcalfe crisis occurred in Novem-

39. Martin C. *op. cit.*, 270.

40. Dent, J. C. *op. cit.*, I, 311 (note).

ber 1843, the entire Executive Council, save the inevitable Secretary East, resigned, and suddenly "the Ministry was Dominick Daly and Dominick Daly was the Ministry". Metcalfe desperately needed a new Council, and it would have to be made up of men willing to undertake what was likely to be a thankless and arduous task. First to answer the call was the weary William Draper. By December 27, Egerton Ryerson was writing to Harrison advising him that he should try to form a ministry and stating his opinion that most of the moderate Reformers would probably join him.⁴¹ Isaac Buchanan, another Reformer who had joined the opposition since the crisis, was also spreading the net for Harrison. On December 29 an annoyed Hincks wrote "Buchanan says that Harrison is with him. — Now I do say this and if I was beside Harrison I would say it to him personally, and moreover I would write to him only I know he never commits himself on paper. — What I say is this—Harrison ought to tell us his intentions *honestly*.—If he chooses to go with Buchanan the Tories may pick him out of the gutter, and if they do God help them and him!".⁴² It soon became known that Harrison was willing to join the 'caretaker' ministry provided W. H. Merritt did so too. At this point Hincks finally worked himself up into seeing Harrison in person, and asked him forthrightly to remain loyal to Baldwin and not desert the former ministers, his erstwhile colleagues. Harrison's reply was typically laconic and unrevealing: "I know *you* are committed to that, but *I* think differently".⁴³ At the last moment, however, Merritt decided not to join because of private reasons, and so Harrison did not enter either. In the general election of December 1844, Harrison was returned to the next Assembly for Kent, but shortly after the beginning of the session he accepted an appointment as Judge of the Surrogate and County Court, and so retired from politics. It has been said that he would have been offered the position of Chief Justice of Upper Canada had it not been for his scruples about the death penalty.⁴⁴ According to Judge Woods, Harrison's tenure did a great deal to raise the prestige of the County Courts.⁴⁵

The interest in education which Harrison had evinced in Arthur's regime was one which he retained all his life. He was instrumental in the introduction of the School Act of 1841,⁴⁶ the beginning of the Common School system of Upper Canada. He was one of the first men to be appointed to the Board of Education, and following the death of Bishop Power in 1848, he was unanimously chosen chairman.⁴⁷ On July 18, 1851,

41. Sissons, C. B. *op. cit.*, II, 49.

42. The LaFontaine Papers, Hincks to LaFontaine, December 29, 1843.

43. The Baldwin Papers (Toronto Public Library, Toronto), Hincks to Baldwin, January 28, 1844.

44. The Harrison Papers, an obituary clipping. Also Woods, R. S. *op. cit.*, 12-3.

45. Woods, R. S. *op. cit.*, 13.

46. Hodgins, J. G. *Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada, 1790-1876*. (Toronto, 1894-1910). Vols. 3-5.

47. The Harrison Papers, obituary clippings.

he was appointed to the Senate of the University of Toronto.

Harrison's first wife had died in Canada, and in 1852 he married the widow of Colonel Colley Lucas Foster, the assistant adjutant-general of the British forces stationed in Canada during the Rebellion of 1837. Together they settled in Toronto on Dundas Street, where Harrison nostalgically named his house 'Foxley Grove' after his parental home in England. In his spare time he converted an old cedar swamp into a beautiful garden, and Scadding in his *Toronto of Old* records that Judge Harrison "will be long remembered for his skill and taste in the culture of flowers and esculents choice and rare as well as for his eminence as a jurist".⁴⁸ Here he planted tulip trees and many different types of hawthorn. His conservatory contained a specimen of the *Victoria Regis*, a fantastically huge species of Australian water-lily, of which Harrison's plant was one of the two specimens outside its native habitat, the other being in Kew Gardens.⁴⁹

In late June 1867, Harrison was stricken with an attack of the gout which had plagued much of his life. For six weeks the disease increased in intensity. On July 23, wishing to reply to a letter from his sister, Harrison found himself too weak to write and so dictated it to his wife.⁵⁰ His calm and stoical qualities persisted to the last. He mentioned that while one of his doctors still maintained hope, "I on the whole do not accord with him", and ended with the sentence "Whatever may be God's will however I am prepared humbly to submit to it". He then signed the letter himself and in a firm hand. Later that day Judge Harrison was dead.

Thus ended the career of the Honourable Samuel Bealy Harrison, a man who for all his cordiality and good nature seems to have dwelt mostly within himself. In his brief years of office he accomplished a great deal, and exercised a most important influence on public affairs. In the achievement of Responsible Government, the question of his day which is best remembered in history, his role has been unduly obscured by the fact that while advocating that principle and working for it, he typically refused to get excited about it. Both the part he played in designing the Resolutions under Sydenham, and in advising the entry of the French under Bagot, were motivated principally by a desire to keep the Government as strong as possible by making concessions to forestall disaster, and in each case concession averted crisis. Nevertheless, although the Resolutions which Harrison presented were only a manoeuvre to Sydenham, the fact that Harrison sincerely believed in the principle they embodied is shown by his insistence to Bagot that he considered himself bound by them to resign if the Council lost the confidence of the Assembly.

48. Scadding, H. *Toronto of Old* (Toronto, 1873), 373.

49. The Harrison Papers, an unsigned letter describing Foxley Grove.

50. Ibid., Harrison to his sister, July 23, 1867.

It was Harrison who most effectively advocated the entrance of the French into the Government, and it was he alone who sponsored Baldwin's entry.⁵¹ But he was never really on close terms with the latter, and his letters to Baldwin are devoid of all but the merest departure from strict formality. When in 1843 Hincks sought to prevent Harrison's resignation, he could think of no one who was close enough to approach the Secretary, although he tentatively suggested Malcolm Cameron.

Harrison's near return to office during the Metcalfe crisis is somewhat harder to explain—the fact that he so obviously was not an office-seeker makes it all the more difficult to do so—but may probably be attributed simply to his concern for the welfare of the Province. This was always Harrison's first interest, and his bill providing for municipal institutions was a landmark in the development of Canada West. His pioneering in the fields of education and of the lower courts is scarcely less significant. Perhaps it was in not altogether unworthy steps that John A. Macdonald was to tread when in 1843 he assumed the seat for Kingston which Harrison had vacated.

Someone once said that the most important event in England in the nineteenth century was the revolution which did not occur. In the last analysis, the significant thing about the achievement of Responsible Government was not that it came, for it is hard to see how it could have been avoided. Britain had neither men nor resources to turn Canada into another Ireland. The important fact is that Responsible Government was accomplished in an orderly manner and without bloodshed. It is of equal importance that the French, instead of being forced to make a second bitter attempt to throw off the yoke of their oppressors, were able peacefully to receive their fair share in the government of the land which had been wrested from them so long ago. Credit for both these achievements goes to a long list of men whose statesmanship was serious, hard-working and generous. Not the least of them was Samuel Bealy Harrison.

51. In his letter to Bagot of July 11, 1842, *supra*. Draper's letter of July 16 expressed the hope that Baldwin could still be kept out. Certainly Bagot did not want Baldwin in the Council.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

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HIRAM WALKER MUSEUM OPENED

On Wednesday the 7th of May the Hiram Walker Museum in Windsor, Ontario, was officially opened by the Attorney-General of Ontario, the Honourable Kelso Roberts.

The opening was the realization of a dream to acquire and restore the venerable Francois Baby House built in 1811, a museum piece in itself, and in this building to display the historical relics, pictures, and manuscripts of the Windsor area which had been collected. It is hardly necessary to state that the prime mover in this enterprise was our Society's past president, George F. Macdonald, ably assisted by Dr. Neil Morrison, Controller Robert M. Fuller, and many others. The Hiram Walker Company very generously undertook to restore and furnish the building, and the appearance of the exterior and interior indicated the great care that had been taken to make the restoration authentic.

At the opening ceremony in the afternoon the House was turned over from the Historic Sites Association to the Windsor Library Board. Mr. Roberts then briefly reviewed the history of the border area, referring particularly to the year 1812 and pointing out that the Baby House was occupied for short periods in that year by the United States' General Hull and General Isaac Brock. After he had declared the building open the public were admitted to admire the interior of the building and the materials that had been placed on display.

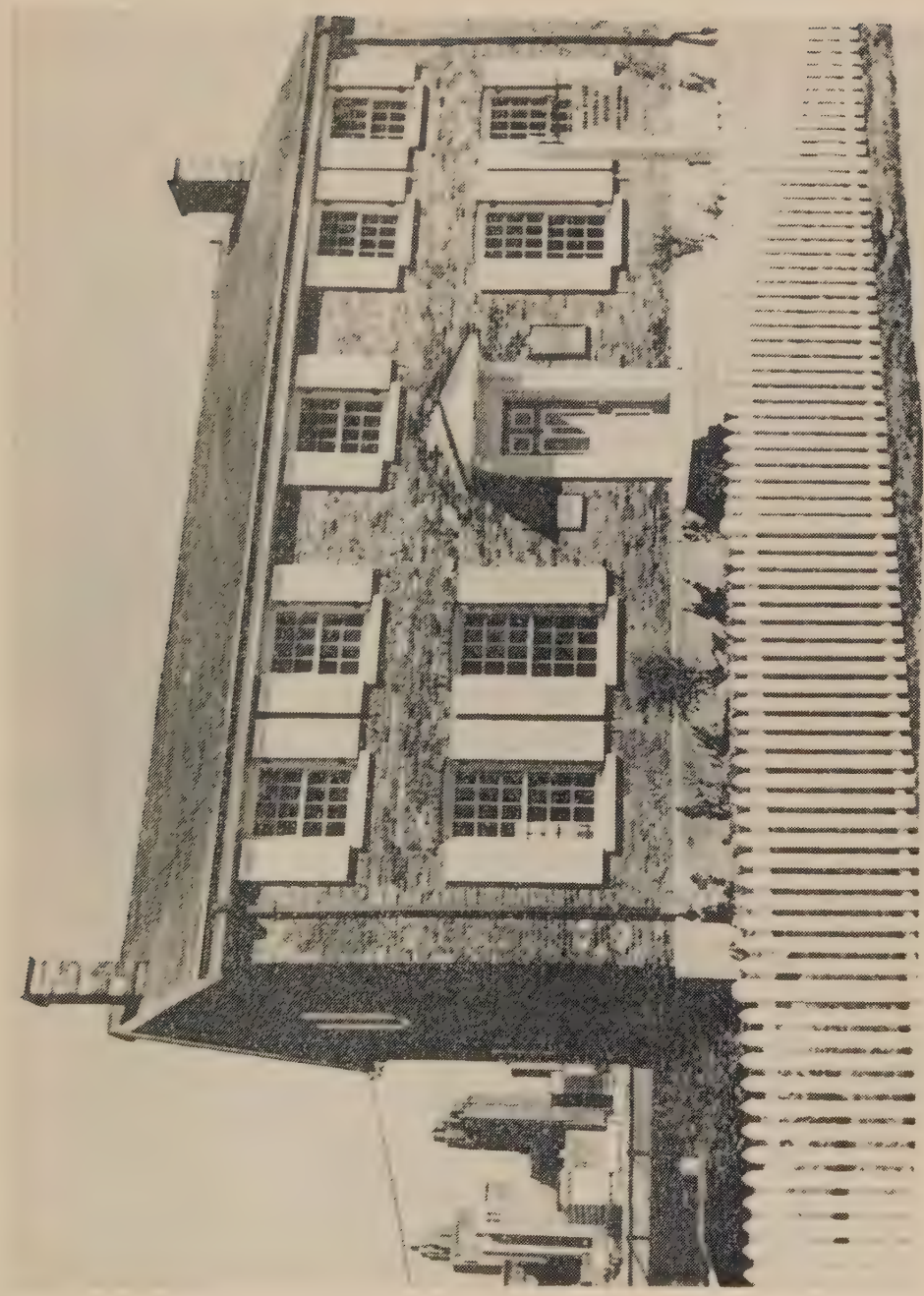
The curator of the new museum is Mr. R. Alan Douglas.

MUSEUMS WORKSHOP WEEKEND, OCTOBER 1958

Members of the Ontario Historical Society are reminded that the Museums Section will be holding a Workshop Weekend on October 3, 4 and 5 next at Brantford with Walter D. Rutherford as convener.

The programme is to include addresses by Mrs. Julia Boyter-Reinstein, Cheektowaga, New York, on the use of map and survey records; by John Martin on Houses; by W. Richard Pilant on Chiefswood; by Mr. George Long of the Bell Telephone Company on "Developing Community Participation in the Preservation of History"; by A. E. Fahl of the O.A.C., on "Lighting and Display". There will also be discussions on The Museums' Contribution to Literature and on The Museum as Property, a tour of local historical sites, including the Brant Historical Society Museum, a Sunday morning service in the famous Royal Chapel of the Mohawks (1785), the Annual Dinner, the business meeting, and the usual rounds of interesting and highly valuable informal luncheons and gatherings.

Members interested in attending the Workshop should write to the Convener, Mr. Rutherford at 60 Charlotte Street, Brantford.



THE BABY HOUSE, WINDSOR, NOW THE HIRAM WALKER MUSEUM

—Courtesy of *Hiram Walker & Sons, Limited*, Walkerville



VIEW OF THE INTERIOR OF THE HIRAM WALKER MUSEUM

—Courtesy of Hiram Walker & Sons, Limited, Walkerville

THE MIDEWIWIN, ONTARIO'S FIRST MEDICAL SOCIETY

By Robert C. Dailey

The presence of illness represents one of the most vital problems facing every human group. Consequently, none are known, either primitive or civilized, which do not have some means of coping with it. But though every people has a medical practice, its particular role, the degree of its elaboration, and the rationale underlying the techniques employed vary immensely from culture to culture.

In North America, one of the Indian peoples who are reputed to have been greatly concerned with health and methods of maintaining it were the Ojibwa of the Great Lakes region. Before the arrival of the first white man these Indians had not only developed a number of very intricate medical techniques but also a formal society to control the dissemination of this valuable knowledge. It is with this association, which might be considered Ontario's first medical society, that this article will deal.

To the Ojibwa this organization was known as the Midewiwin, or more popularly, the Grand Medicine Society. Its principal purpose was religious in that it served fundamentally to relate the individual to the divine or mysterious.¹ In practice, however, the Midewiwin was concerned with several aspects of Indian life which to the white man would seem to be beyond his concept of religion and its traditional role. It outlined the values and ideas of the "good life", including a code of conduct whereby this could be achieved. It also fulfilled an esoteric function, in that through learning the secrets shared by its members an individual could gain competence in healing and, thereby, acquire prestige and influence within the Ojibwa band as a whole.

Today much of the aboriginal ceremony has disappeared, lost forever in the changed conditions of a white man's world.² But in the early historic period the central place which this society occupied in the life of the Ojibwa and related woodland tribes was described by several of the first explorers and missionaries.³ Eventually, systematic ethnological studies of what still remained of the practice were undertaken in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁴ The latter contributed a very necessary perspective toward an understanding of the Society be-

1. Hoffman, Walter J. "The Midewiwin or 'Grand Medicine Society' of the Ojibwa", *7th Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology* (1891), 143-300.

2. As an example, see Hallowell, A. Irving, "The Passing of the Midewiwin in the Lake Winnipeg Region", *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (1936), 33-51.

3. Representative of these sources are: Carver, Jonathan, *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America* (London, 1778); Gilfillan, Joseph A. "The Ojibways in Minnesota," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, Vol. 9 (1901), 55-128; Jones, Peter. *History of the Ojibway Indians* (London, 1861); Kohl, Johann G. *Kitchi-Gami* (London, 1860); Warren, William W. "History of the Ojibways," *Minnesota Historical Society Collections*, Vol. 5 (1885), 21-394.

4. See particularly: Densmore, Frances. "Chippewa Customs," *Bulletin 86, Bureau of American Ethnology* (1929); Hoffman, Walter J. "The Midewiwin or 'Grand Medicine Society of the Ojibwa'," *7th Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*,

cause, unlike the earlier reports, they were written from the Indians' point of view.

Analysis of these ethno-historical documents indicates that the Ojibwa explained the origin of their society in legend. They are known to have recognized a number of spirits, or *manidos*, of which some were considered superior to others. These were manifested in the living creatures of the forest, the waters, the sky, and in any conspicuous object in nature. The most powerful of these was *Kitshi Manido* (variously spelled), the Great Spirit, often confused by the white man as synonymous with his own concept of God. Second, in their estimation, was *Dzhe Manido*, a somewhat benign power who, it is said, gave the *Midewiwin* to the Ojibwa through the intercession of *Minabozho*, their culture hero. It is important to keep in mind that these spirits were not readily perceived. Rather, they were made intelligible and personified through an intermediary or "runner". This was precisely the role of *Minabozho*, who, as the principal intercessor, is the individual to whom the Ojibwa attributed life and the gift of the essentials necessary to sustain life. This is clearly brought out in the following origin legend:

In the beginning, according to one belief (these vary from group to group), *Minabozho*, the servant or "runner" of *Dzhe Manido*, looked down upon the earth and beheld the sad plight of the first people, the ancestors of the Ojibwa. He saw how helpless they were, and, through the power *Dzhe Manido* had conferred upon him, desired to give them some means of warding off the diseases with which they were constantly afflicted. Also he wanted to provide them with the animals and plants for their food and other comforts. But as he hovered over the earth, he could find no one with whom to communicate these desires, for the first people were dumb. Suddenly, he heard someone laughing, and, looking about, perceived a dark object on the surface of the primeval waters. After several unsuccessful attempts, *Minabozho* finally contacted the creature which turned out to be the Otter, a kinsman of the first people. He took the Otter to an island and there built a medicine lodge. When it was completed he led the Otter inside, taught him the secrets of the *Midewiwin*, and, with his medicine bag, shot the *migis*, a white fresh water shell, into the animal's body that he might have immortality. Upon leaving the island the Otter told his human kinsmen of the experience and how they could maintain health and achieve immortality, if they would but follow *Minabozho's* instructions and practice the medicine ritual.⁵

(1891), 143-300; Hoffman, Walter J. "The Menomini," *14th Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part I (1896), 11-315; Ritzenthaler, Robert E. "Chippewa Preoccupation with Health," *Milwaukee Public Museum Bulletin*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (1953); Skinner, Alanson B. "Medicine Ceremony of the Menomini, Iowa, and Wahpeton Dakota," *Indian Notes and Monographs, Museum of the American Indian* (New York, 1920).

5. Hoffman, *op. cit.*, (1891).

Membership in the Midewiwin was obtained through preliminary instruction and formal initiation at one of the semi-annual meetings of the society. These were usually held in the late spring or early fall. The instruction and the ceremony were under the leadership of recognized priests. There were several means of gaining membership. On the one hand were those who joined following a vision experience in which the visionary was told by his spirit patron to enter or "go through". On the other were those who qualified for membership as a result of having contracted an illness which either had been cured or, it was intended, would be cured through the agency of the Midewiwin.⁶

When an Ojibwa desired to become a member (and both sexes were equally eligible), he formally signified his intention by holding a feast to which a Mide priest had been invited. If the priest was in accord the candidate began his preparation by securing the necessary goods to defray the costs of the initiation. In the old days skins, most probably beaver pelts, were the standard payment. In more recent times metal pails and cloth blankets were used, and occasionally even clothing might be substituted. As a preliminary to entering the society the candidate was given a shell, the megis or sacred symbol of the Midewiwin, to wear around his neck until he was initiated. Also during this waiting period the future member was expected to hold a number of feasts to which the priest and his sponsors were invited.

Membership in the society entailed "going through" several graded degrees. It was this feature which prompted some of the early observers to compare it with modern forms of the secret society, such as the Masonic Order. The historic accounts also vary as to the number of degrees involved. Most report four. However, whatever the number, each successive degree required the payment of a higher fee but in return conferred increased prestige upon the holder.

Each degree, then, involved the learning of appropriate ritual, the knowledge of additional and more powerful medical formulas, and the possession of a medicine bag which symbolized the accomplishment. Bags of the first degree could be made of mink, otter, muskrat, or beaver; those of the second, owl or hawk; of the third, snake and fox, or wild-cat claw; and of the fourth, bear paw, or cub bear.

The initiation ceremonies lasted for several days, depending upon the number of candidates. They were held in a specially constructed, semi-cylindrical medicine lodge, approximately fifteen feet wide and up to several hundred feet in length. It consisted of a sapling framework, often left open except for boughs which were placed along the walls to a height of two or three feet above the ground.

The priests decided when and where the initiation ceremony was to take place. By the time the rite was to be held each candidate had

6. Ritzenthaler, *op. cit.*

received his preliminary instruction as to the ritual and the conduct he was to observe. When all was ready the goods representing the initiation fee were hung along the ridge pole of the lodge. The ceremony began with the entrance of the candidates, led by the priests, and their seating in a special place. Next the Mide members assembled and marched around the lodge to their seats. Lastly the populace entered and arranged themselves around the walls more or less as spectators.

Without specifically reviewing each of the details of the ceremony, its climax and the most dramatic feature was the magical shooting of the sacred shell or megis, into the body of the candidate. This was performed by the priest and sponsors with the aid of their medicine bags. It was done to drive out any actual or impending sickness and thereby symbolically renew the individual's life. Upon his being shot, the candidate fell into a state of insensibility. It is said that he remained thus until the shell appeared to fall from his mouth, whereupon, he regained consciousness.⁷ Following this, his immediate behaviour was marked by erratic expressions of extreme exhilaration. This, it was believed, signified his revival or rebirth. Upon completing this phase of the ritual, each candidate was given a medicine bag appropriate to the degree held, and he, in turn, distributed his fees to the priest and sponsors. The ceremony ended with all the Mide members marching around the lodge holding their medicine bags and indiscriminately shooting at one another in a final reviving gesture.

The nature of this society raises questions of interest to us, most important of which are the reasons for its medical effectiveness. To conclude that this organization was the product of child-like minds because it contained what seem like highly ludicrous beliefs and practices, would be to miss the point entirely. The troublesome disparities which the white man often experiences when he compares Indian customs with his own do not result from any inherent inadequacy of the native mind. Rather do the discrepancies which exist simply reflect differences in the premises upon which thought is based. Every person is born into a ready-made cultural milieu; as a result, he learns to think in terms of ideas traditional to his social unit.⁸ Thus, the Indian built his explanations upon a predominantly magico-religious foundation whereas the white man, on the other hand, stresses objectivity and controlled experimentation in a world which does not have him in mind.

Accordingly, the Ojibwa accounted for very few of life's events as a result of what we would call natural causes. This is particularly true of illness which, instead, was invariably attributed to mysterious mechanisms of one kind or another. These were usually set in motion either by the spirits themselves as a penalty for disrespectful behaviour, or

7. Hoffman, *op. cit.* (1891).

8. Boas, Franz. *The Mind of Primitive Man* (New York, 1938).

else by a fellow-man who, seeking revenge for some personal injury or other reasons, practiced sorcery himself, or employed a known sorcerer to work magic for him.

As among most pre-literate peoples, the Ojibwa viewed disease essentially as a social or moral problem. People were believed to fall ill because they had failed to observe the rule of "right living". Considered in broad perspective, this is quite the opposite of the concepts presently employed by the white man. For him, illness is thought to be a natural and hence an impersonal phenomenon. According to one authority, it is, therefore, reasonable to conclude, as a general characteristic of primitive medicine, that it is primarily magico-religious, utilizing a few rational elements, while modern medicine is predominantly rational and scientific, employing a few magic elements.⁹ Thus if the Indian was to explain the causes of illness he commanded only the possibilities of subjective interpretation.

The fundamental idea of the Midewiwin was the prolonging of life through "right living", and the proper use of medical knowledge. During the initiation period candidates were taught the simple ethics of the society, namely that rectitude of conduct produces longevity and prepares the way to immortality and, contrariwise, that illness and misfortune mark the fate of the offender. Respect for the society was strictly enforced. Lying and stealing were especially forbidden. And generally, Mide members were expected to conduct themselves with dignity. Excesses in every sphere of life were to be avoided.¹⁰ Only by observing the strict code of behaviour, which Mide membership required, was the individual Ojibwa able ideally to insulate himself against the wrath of the spirits and the machinations of the evil-doer.

But no matter how careful a person might be, he could not always avoid ill-health. To meet these situations of crisis, the Midewiwin provided its own practical methods of restoring health. Powerful psychological forces were at work during the ritual, particularly in the shooting episodes. At this time the individual either received or renewed his spirit protection, and as a consequence was highly susceptible to suggestion of a hypnotic type. It is interesting that most of the maladies thought to be familiar to these people are today considered psychosomatic in nature.¹¹ Thus, rheumatic, respiratory, and digestive disorders were probably the more common. Conspicuously absent, from the white man's point of view, were the epidemic and degenerative diseases.¹²

The Midewiwin possessed specific kinds of medical knowledge as well. With each degree attained, the Mide member was entitled to learn

9. Ackerknecht, Erwin H. "Primitive Medicine," *Transactions of the New York Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Series II, Vol. 8, No. 1 (1945), 29.

10. Densmore, *op. cit.*

11. Alexander, Franz. *Psychosomatic Medicine* (New York, 1950).

12. Ackerknecht, Erwin H. *A Short History of Medicine* (New York, 1955).

additional methods of compounding remedies. This teaching, along with the ethics of the society, was the most important part of degree instruction.¹³ In controlling, as it did, the dissemination of this art, the Midewiwin represented a monopoly practice. This was greatly strengthened by the fact that it was also a secret society. Through their monopoly control, the Mide priests were able to achieve a high social status and also to realize considerable personal gain. Indeed, the desire to learn the art of *herbarism* seems to have been one of the strongest motivations for membership. For example, one observer reports that he knew of an Ojibwa who had paid the equivalent of thirty thousand dollars in beaver pelts for Mide instruction.¹⁴

The medical effectiveness of these herbal formulas has long been a subject of interest. Of those that have been analyzed, only a few appear to have contained chemicals now known to be physiologically beneficial. By far the largest number do not seem to have possessed any objective medical value. Nevertheless they worked. The best explanation for this, as in the case of modern use of placebos, was probably because the Indian actually believed in the efficacy of the treatment and in the power of the individual administering it.¹⁵

In a very broad sense the ultimate objective of the Midewiwin and that of the modern medical society were almost identical—namely the prolonging of life. But in contributing toward this common goal, the two differ rather sharply. In contrast to its modern counterpart, the Mide society undoubtedly was much less objective in its approach to illness and the means of avoiding it. Consequently, whatever the true cause of illness, it was concerned with sick souls and not with diseased organs. To the Ojibwa of Ontario the Midewiwin was both their most important means of religious expression and the vehicle through which the ideals of human conduct were made known. It was, therefore, an integral part of Ojibwa cosmogony. Its emphasis and role were predominantly social; its treatments, and most probably the reasons for their success, were primarily psychotherapeutic.

13. Although it was the most important, the Midewiwin was not, on the other hand, the only recourse these Indians had in the event of illness. A number of supplemental practices were also observed both in and out of the Society. Of these, the use of herbs was very prevalent. Most families possessed a number of remedies which they employed in a variety of ways. Mechanical techniques of treatment were also popular. Among these were cupping, tattooing, and the use of the sweat-bath. For removing suspected pathogenic agents, the Ojibwa resorted to several methods of magic. Especially gifted individuals either practiced conjuring or clairvoyance to identify and treat what was wrong, or actually engaged in sucking the disease-causing agent from the body of the patient. Lastly, these people recognized the value of a host of protective devices and practices which ranged from charms and fetishes to the careful observance of taboos.

14. Kohl, *op. cit.*, 382.

15. Beecher, H. K. "The Powerful Placebo," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, No. 159 (1955), 1602-6.

A HISTORY OF FROOMEFIELD, MOORE TOWNSHIP

By Jean Elford

Froomefield, like much of West Lambton, was comparatively late in being settled because of the dense forests and the swampy interior of Moore Township, in which it is located. It was not until 1834 that its founder, Froome Talfourd, and his brother Field came there to find several squatters, mostly French, "... who would sell their improvements and some of their claims, which the government would acknowledge." The Talfourds, from a combination of whose Christian names the settlement derives its name, were "... Englishmen who tried to make a town of the place, but failed in the attempt. Among the early settlers here were many English "gentlemen" (as they call them "at home," though with us every man is a gentleman who behaves as such), notable among whom were Capt. Wright, of the navy, and Admiral Vidal, who, after his settlement here, was recalled for foreign service on the coast of South Africa."²

It is doubtful, however, that the Talfourd brothers, as stated above, ever envisaged anything so ambitious for Froomefield as the status of a town, since their plan covered an area not above half a mile in length nor more than twelve hundred deep, and included only three streets—Church, Cross and Front,—of which the last is now part of Highway No. 40.³ There was another short street running between Front Street and the creek which crossed Cross Street, but it did not boast a name, nor rate marking on the early survey. The little place itself, however, was mentioned in a gazetteer as early as 1846 as follows:

FROOMEFIELD, OR TALFOURD'S

As it is more commonly called; a Village in the township of Moore, situated on the River St. Clair, four miles and a half from Port Sarnia.⁴ It was laid out in 1836 by F. Talfourd, Esq. The situation is one of the most beautiful on the river. Steamboats stop here to take in wood. A small stream, formerly called "Commodore's Creek," on which is a grist and saw-mill (not now in operation), enters the River St. Clair at this point. Here is a neat Episcopal Church, and an excellent windmill. Number of inhabitants about forty. Village lots of one-third of an acre are selling here at £10 currency.

Trades—Two waggon makers, one tailor, one shoemaker, one blacksmith, two joiners.⁵

Froomefield's location, indeed, is an enviable one. The mile-wide waters of the blue St. Clair lend enchantment to the little hamlet lying on its eastern bank, bounded on the north by the Ojibway Indian Reserva-

1. Talfourd, F. *Recollections of Froome Talfourd*, 1896. From a typescript in possession of the Sarnia Public Library.

2. *Illustrated Atlas of the Dominion of Canada* (Toronto: H. Belden and Company, 1880), xiv.

3. The Talfourd Survey of Froomefield may be seen in the Lambton County Registry Office, Sarnia.

4. The distance was actually six miles.

5. *Smith's Canadian Gazetteer* (Toronto, 1846), 61.

tion and encompassed south and east by the winding creek. Until land became scarce in the village nearly every house was built on a river lot with its main windows located to give a view of the river and its traffic.

Little wonder then that the men of Froomefield should be interested in sailing and that many became Great Lakes mariners. Among the early sailors may be mentioned Captains James, Daniel, Ernest and George Warwick, Joseph David, Reuben Gowling and William Turnbull. Captain James Warwick, who was born in England and was hired by Froome Talfourd as a "boy" in Lowestoft, England before sailing to Canada, settled in Froomefield in 1834.⁶

These men's sailing careers extended from a period that saw only wooden sailing vessels on the river right down to the days of the 600-foot coal-fired steel steamboats, a lengthy interval characterized by many stages. At first the schooners moved under their own sail, but afterwards they were grouped into convoys and towed by steam tugs. Gradually the sailing vessels gave way to wood-burning, steam-powered wooden boats and these in turn to the larger coal-burning steel boats. Present-day Froomefielders have seen these largely replaced by diesel-powered oil-burning steel boats up to 700 feet long and with 75 foot beam. In the same period passenger boats enjoyed their heyday. Before the days of the automobile, river cruises were very popular and at Froomefield the passenger boats could be seen going by daily throughout the summer holiday season. For years the sidewheeler *Tashmoo* went up and down the river every summer afternoon and in the evening other sidewheelers—*Greyhound*, *Wauketa*, or *Owena*—brought the passengers back. The little inter-city ferries which ordinarily plied between Port Huron and Sarnia often conducted excursions in the evenings down the river to Stag Island, southwest of Froomefield. Then Froomefielders would sit on their verandahs, enjoying the sight of these floating ballrooms and listening to the romantic sound of their orchestras carried across the water.

At one time Froomefield did more than watch the ships pass by; it supplied many of them with wood fuel from the dense woods east of the village. In his memoirs, Talfourd writes: "On the front of my lot [Froomefield lots extended to the water's edge] I built a wharf and sold quantities of firewood to steamboats".⁷ Mr. Stone and Mr. Baxter also had large docks in front of their farms to which the wood was brought and piled for sale. Till very recently the piles of these old docks could be seen protruding from the water. The wood was chiefly black walnut and oak and Anna C. Young's book, *Off Watch* gives an account of this business: "Those first ships . . . were wood burners of 20 to 30 H.P. They used to fuel at a wood fuelling station just below Sarnia [Froomefield]

6. *Illustrated Atlas of the Dominion of Canada*, no pagination, section entitled "Biographical Dictionary of Lambton County Subscribers".

7. Talfourd, F., *op. cit.*

where they loaded 120 cords of black walnut at \$1.50 a cord.”⁸

Other businesses peculiar to pioneer times also flourished. Moore Township was in great need of drainage to convert the forested swamps into arable farmland. To supply the tile for this purpose a Mr. MacKay operated a tile yard at the corner of Cross and Church Streets. The hummocks and hollows left by this operation were quite noticeable in the otherwise flat land until the last five years when the ground was levelled for modern buildings. An even earlier industry was a flour and grist mill, powered by the waters of the creek, operated at first by the French squatter Mr. Jean N. Petetti, and subsequently taken over by Froome Talfourd when he purchased Petetti’s rights.⁹ Another flour mill was operated by Mirza Proctor.¹⁰ In addition there was a sawmill on the river, run by the Major family, and also on the river near the mouth of the creek, Joseph E. Wheatley had a sash factory.

John Wheatley, father of Joseph E., came to Froomefield from Lincolnshire, England, in 1837 and farmed and ran a blacksmith and waggon shop. Following his trade of waggon maker, he turned out oak spokes in large quantities which were shipped to England on the *Chieftain*—a sailing vessel which also carried cargoes of Lambton’s early crude petroleum overseas. Between approximately 1862 and 1885 Wheatley operated the village store, a rectangular building boarded up and down with a great high front on the west side. Just prior to his marriage to Miss Elvira Proctor on April 29, 1839, Mr. Wheatley went to Detroit to get provisions to stock his house. Here is a copy of a bill:¹¹

Mr. Watley [sic]		Detroit April 4th 1839	
		Bot of H. Hyatt	
To	6 lb Tea @	4/9	\$3.54
	4 lb Currants	1/6	.75
	4½ lb Coffee @	1/4	.68
	1 Gall Wine	12/-	1.50
	1½ lb. C.S. Soap	1/6	.28
	5 lb yellow Soap	1/-	.63
	7 lb Loaf Sugar	1/-	.91

			\$8.29
	6 lb Rice @	8c	48

			\$8.77
	1 Jug		25

8. Young, Anna G. *Off Watch* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1957), 140.

9. Talfourd, F., *op. cit.*

10. Beers, J. H. and Company. *Commemorative Biographical Record of the County of Lambton, Ontario* (Toronto: Hill Binding Company, 1906), 238.

11. From the original, in the possession of Mrs. Lillian Wheatley Francis.

	\$9.02
2 lb Rice	16
1lb Tea	56
	\$9.74

Received Payment
per H. Hyatt
Jas Malcolm

Another of the village's businessmen was a carpenter by the name of Theophilus David. During a cholera epidemic¹² which carried off many of the villagers, he made coffins of black walnut. Fortunately his supply exceeded the demand and some of these grisly boxes remained piled in the David stable until a much more recent day. Mr. David's sons did not follow their father's trade but instead ran a small iron steamboat, the *Delilah*, on pleasure excursions which acquainted summer visitors with the beauties of the St. Clair River and Talfourd Creek. The rusting hull of the old *Delilah* lay on the creek-bank for years and its last vestiges did not disappear until the 1940's.

When the *Delilah* was under cover for the winter, and the mills had closed down, when the docks were piled high with wood and ordinary waterfront business was at a standstill, yet another early industry came into its own—ice cutting. The ice on the creek was cut into blocks and hauled away on sleighs for storage in ice-houses. Every good-sized establishment had its ice-house—a wooden building about fifteen feet square and insulated with sawdust. From these the ice was removed a block at a time and placed in the ice box to keep dairy products fresh and cool—occasionally, too, it was used in a hand-operated ice cream freezer.

The ice of the creek also served as a ready-made skating rink for the youth of the community, the fair-sized banks providing shelter against the winter winds and fuel for bonfires. The river ice was often too rough for cutting or skating but it offered a winter highway to Marysville, Michigan. It was usual for someone to go across with an axe (to test the ice and cut holes for stakes) and stake out a safe path as soon as the ice covered the water. Generally, uneventful and speedy crossings on the ice could be made for around three months of the year but occasionally a wind would open the ice, leaving someone stranded in Marysville, on the American side. This means of crossing the river is a thing of the past. Warm wastes from the big industries of Sarnia and Port Huron and icebreakers now keep the river open nearly all winter. When the ice broke up in the spring the river would again become the main high-

12. Probably during the summer of 1854, when the funerals of five children were recorded by St. Mary's Church between June 11 and July 28.

way of Froomefield, permitting the boats to bring in supplies and haul away butter, lumber, spokes, pork, and other products of the community.

This means of transportation was supplemented by the river road, a winding, narrow lane by today's standards, dusty in summer, slippery in winter and impassable every spring because of mud. Much of the original road between Sarnia and Froomefield fell into the river and was replaced by another a few feet further east. For years it was the custom for farmers to gravel the portion of the road within Moore Township in lieu of paying taxes, but by 1934 motor traffic made it imperative to widen, straighten and pave the road.

To river and road traffic was added rail travel in the 1880's. Property about a mile back from Froomefield was purchased for the line,¹³ a box car was brought in to serve as waiting room and the stop was named "Wawanosh". Here one could flag the train, ride into Sarnia, take the streetcar downtown, shop, and return to Froomefield the same day. The automobile reduced rail passenger traffic and from the 1920's mixed trains were operated. These in turn gave way to freight service, the old station was removed and even its name was forgotten except by the generation of school children who memorized the names of the railway stations of Lambton County.

Though Froomefielders no longer could go to Sarnia by train they had a far more convenient mode of transportation by road. In 1918 W. E. Harrold secured a franchise to operate a bus between Sarnia and Corunna and continued the service for over twenty years. Now the cities bus service offers a similar and more frequent service. An early forerunner of the bus was a horse-drawn coach that ran through Froomefield back in 1863. An account of it is to be found in an old letter dated January 12, 1863: "There is a two horse stage runs every day (Sundays excepted) between Sarnia and Mooretown for the conveyance of passengers fare 25 cts each way by Philip Gilchrist."¹⁴

In the early days before the stage coach, train and bus it was necessary to go to Sarnia for mail, for not until 1852 was a closer post office established at Corunna, 1 $\frac{7}{8}$ miles further south along the river. For Froomefielders who walked to Corunna there was a boardwalk two planks in width over the entire distance, but this fell into disrepair in the early 1920's and was not replaced. However by that time the necessity of going to Corunna for mail had ended, for in 1914 rural mail service had been inaugurated and the mailing address of Froomefield residents had now become R.R. No. 1 Corunna. W. E. Harrold was the rural mail carrier for the first four years. But even after the dependence upon Corunna for mail ceased it was still necessary to go there for an education. Froome-

13. The abstract of title for Lot 68, Front Concession of Moore, shows that a right-of-way was deeded to the Huron and Erie Railway in 1885. The branch is now owned by the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway.

14. From a letter in a private collection.

field never has had a school, and until recent years when bus service was provided, the village children walked the river road from Froomefield to Corunna in winter's cold and summer's heat, carrying their lunches along with their books.

While facilities for a secular education improved, those for a spiritual upbringing declined, for only in its early days did Froomefield have a church. One of the first acts of the village founder, Froome Talfourd, was to erect in 1840 with money from his parents, a small church known as St. Mary's for the use of his fellow Anglicans. However he himself could not have been married by a minister of his own communion, for he tells us in his *Recollections* that he was married to Miss Eliza Johnston in 1837 by the Methodist missionary to the Indians of the Sarnia Reserve.

By 1844 his little church was feeling the pinch of poverty and we find the former dissenter, Bishop Strachan, writing to its clergyman, the Rev. Alexander Pyne,¹⁵ as follows:

Toronto 27 March 1844

Rev'd & Dear Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge your & Mr. Talfords letters and as both refer to the same matter this may be considered the answer to both. 1. I read Mr. Talfords letter with unmingled astonishment the idea that a sincere Member of the Church of England would under any circumstances even contemplate the disposal by sale of a Church built for her service to dissenters is new to me and very humiliating. 2. Among many other requests made to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts I mentioned Mr. Talfords Church bestowing upon him due praise for his great exertions little dreaming that the Church was in any jeopardy & I selected assistance for it as well as others—Unfortunately the pressure of the times has prevented the Society from attending during the last 18 months or two years to my requests. 3. I am however unwilling to lose the Church & have to request Mr. Talford to give us till next winter & in the meantime you will have the goodness to send a Memorial to the S.P.G.F.P. relating all the circumstances of the case distinctly—the small sum (25) required to set the Church free the great exertions & sacrifices made by Mr. Talford & the probable loss of the Church as he is unable to do more. I think such a statement if properly drawn up will have the wished for effect—if not we must give the matter up for I have no funds whatever at my disposal. In regard to the Church Societies the last accts. seem more favourable as regards their finances so that I should hope much from the application I advise.

I remain

Rev'd. & Dear Sr

Yours truly

John Toronto 16

On December 6 of the same year the bishop wrote the Reverend Ernest Hawkins, Secretary to the S.P.G., regarding the Froomefield church:

15. Pascoe, C. F. *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G., 1701-1900* (London, England: The Society, 1901), 877.

16. Strachan Letter Book, 1844-9, in Ontario Archives. Page 13, Strachan to the Rev. Alexander Pyne, 27 March, 1844.

Among many applications made in the course of last spring permit me to invite favourable attention to two or three . . . 2. The Revd. Alex Pynes memorial in favour of a small Church on the River St. Clair. In regard to this Church there is something peculiar—it was built by Mr. Talford the Brother I believe of the Member of Parliament¹⁷ from his own resources & some assistance sent him by his Friends in England but unfortunately a small debt still remains & he thinks he has done enough & is unwilling to advance anything more. I have indeed reason to believe that his circumstances are narrow & that to pay the debt would be a severe inconvenience—He is however [here follow six words which are indecipherable] & something must be done or we may lose the Church . . . ¹⁸

Doctor Strachan's fears were eased by the giving of the church by Froome Talfourd and his wife to the Diocese of Toronto on April 11, 1845 "upon trust to hold the same forever hereafter as a site or ground plot for a Church of the United Church of England and Ireland."

After St. Mary's came under the jurisdiction of the Diocese of Toronto (and subsequently, in 1857, of the Diocese of Huron), the following is the record of clergymen:

1846-1847	Rev. A. Pyne
1847-1848	Vacant
1848-1855	Rev. J. G. R. Salter, B.A.
1855-1859	Rev. Alex Williams
1859-1861	Vacant
1861-1872	Rev. [Doctor] D. Armstrong
1872-1874	Annual Report lacking
1874-	Vacant

Subsequent years are lacking.¹⁹

Of the clergy listed above, Rev. J. G. R. Salter was also the public school inspector for the area, while the Rev. Doctor Armstrong combined his clerical duties with the function of Indian Agent at the Sarnia Reservation. Apparently a colourful personality, he left a deep impression upon his parishioners, who remembered him with affection, respect and loyalty all their lives and talked so much about him that he became familiar even to those who had never seen him.

A more tangible memento of St. Mary's past is to be found in an old cash book²⁰ for the period between October 24, 1845 and January 26, 1857. The Sunday offerings, which appear to have been taken once, twice, or sometimes three times a month, ranged from four cents to \$3.12 over the years. Another source of income was the fee of \$1.00 charged for

17. Sir Thomas Noon Talfourd was a celebrated literary figure and lawyer of his day, and a Member of Parliament for Reading from 1835 to 1841 and from 1847 until his appointment as a judge in 1849. He died in 1854 at the age of 58.

18. Strachan Letter Book, 1839-66 (To Societies), in Ontario Archives. Page 63, Strachan to the Rev. Ernest Hawkins, Secretary to the S.P.G., 6 December, 1844.

19. Based on Annual Reports of the Church Society of the Diocese of Toronto to 1858 and of Huron after 1859, supplied through the courtesy of the Dominion Archives, Ottawa.

20. Now in Huron Church House, London, Ontario, where it was examined through the kindness of Archdeacon L. A. Nelles, Secretary-Treasurer.

funerals. The use of sterling as well as American currency is evidenced in such items as 12½ cents for a pound of stovepipe or 62½ cents for a quart of wine (an item frequently listed). That the church had a steeple is indicated from an entry for \$1.50 for having it zincked by Mr. Stone. Cleaning the church cost the congregation 75c or \$1.00, depending upon whether stovepipes were taken down or put up. The lady who cleaned the church also laundered the clergyman's surplice for 25c and the surplice itself was replaced at a cost of \$4.50. There is an entry for \$15.68 paid to the Rev. Mr. Salter for expenses incurred on a trip to Toronto. Having the church fence whitewashed cost the congregation 50c, while a cord of wood for heating the church cost 44c with an additional 25c to have it split. One charge which would not appear in a modern church's expenses was 38c for grave ropes. There is nothing to be found in the cash book concerning the rector's salary. However, as we have seen, maintenance of the building was the responsibility of the congregation. When, in 1868 the church had fallen into disrepair and was in need of rebuilding, a contract was entered into with George Proctor and Andrew Todd for a total of \$910, "the whole to be subject to the inspection of Rev. David Armstrong, William Stone and Froome Talfourd". On October 2, 1869, the work being completed, Captain James Warwick paid over the agreed sum.²¹

Exactly how long Froomefielders enjoyed their rebuilt church is difficult to ascertain in the absence of complete clergy records. Rev. Dr. Armstrong, who served there between 1861 and 1872, must have returned at some later time, for he is remembered to have been there in the 1880's and he continued as Indian Agent until 1892. As late as 1879 the church still had trustees, for the deed for the second cemetery in this year lists John McGuire, A. Body and T. Cowan.²² Eventually, however, the building itself was removed to the Sarnia Indian Reserve to be used as a mission under St. John's Anglican Church, Sarnia. By the 1920's it was vacant and beginning to go to pieces. It was a frame building, boarded up and down, painted a light brown colour (an enduring colour much in vogue in Froomefield during the last century), with gothic windows, a square tower and walnut pews.

With the church gone the little graveyard became a desolate spot; the white slab tombstones, buried in long grass and weeds, fell down one by one and the locations of the graves were lost. After many years the remaining stones were gathered together and propped against the east fence, and still later, in 1956, the Women's Institute erected a memorial cairn to Froomefield pioneers and grouped the stones about it. The earliest marker is that of Walter Coats, a native of East Kilbrigg, Lanarkshire, buried in 1836. Of the sixteen markers, six were of children under five

21. This contract is also among records of St. Mary's at Huron Church House.

22. Deed No. 6592 for Moore Township, at the Lambton County Registry Office.

years of age. One grave is that of James Ambrose, "Who when worshipping in God's house was suddenly called to his rest on Easter Day, April 4, 1858, aged 63 years." Froome Talfourd's first wife, Eliza Johnston, was also buried there "at the front of the church".²³ The last grave to be made in St. Mary's churchyard was that of Mrs. Ambrose, whose death occurred on March 29, 1877. This tiny graveyard was not the only one in Froomefield, for Froome Talfourd gave another plot of ground (once called the shanty field) for a cemetery, half of which was to be for Anglican use and the other half for dissenters. This cemetery has been enlarged and is still being used.

Little remains in present-day Froomefield besides this cemetery that an old native would recognize. Only seven homes dating back to the nineteenth century remain, and these have been changed by the addition of asphalt shingles, picture windows, porches, and the removal of their old back kitchens, picket fences and outlying stables. The old natives themselves are gone too and none live in Froomefield who were born there before 1900.

The great hopes of discovering oil back in the eighteen-sixties were never realized although today petroleum from far Alberta is processed on the very farm where drillers worked nearly a hundred years ago. Boats still call, but not to load wood; rather to unload cargoes of Alberta crude. And the city of Sarnia, which now extends to the northern boundary of Froomefield, is likely to annex the community. Then even the name of the old place will go.

23. Talfourd, F., *op. cit.*

WINDSOR RADIO'S HISTORICAL TALKS

On April 12, 1958 the fourteenth annual series of historical addresses sponsored by the Essex County Tourist Association was launched over radio station CKLW, with Dr. Neil F. Morrison's "A Tour of Essex County". Dr. Morrison later spoke on "The Rise and Fall of the Trolley Car in Essex County" and "Glimpses of Essex County History from Garden Gateway". Other talks on specifically Canadian subjects from among the series of twelve were Controller Robert M. Fuller's "The Battle of Windsor, December 4, 1838", Alan Douglas' "Windsor Opens its First Museum" (on the Hiram Walker Museum), David P. Botsford's "The Historic Development of Agriculture in Malden Township", Paul Vandall's "Some Aspects of Essex County Shores" and Miss Kathleen V. Moore's "Pontiac, Famous Indian Chief", while papers on the history of adjacent sections of the United States were given by Floyd R. Dain, Haviland F. Reves and Steve Spilos. Copies of these addresses were available on application to the offices of the Essex County Tourist Association, 1007 Canada Building, Windsor.

HASTINGS COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Seven months ago, the groundwork for the Hastings County Historical Society was laid at a meeting held in Belleville City Hall. At that time, a temporary executive was chosen under T. G. Wrightmeyer, President, and plans were made for the year 1957-58.

Since that meeting, members of the society have tried to carry out these basic aims:

- (1) To preserve historical materials
- (2) To display such material
- (3) To hold public lectures
- (4) To arouse interest in the past by means of newspaper articles, etc.

The efforts of the Hastings County Historical Society have met with some success. Three public meetings have been held since last November. A display that created much favourable comment was arranged in a downtown store window in February. In addition, society members are taking an active interest in a proposed county museum, a weekly newspaper series "Historic Belleville" is now in its thirty-third week, and much historical material has been preserved.

A large part of Hastings County history was saved in February when, for several evenings, members salvaged records stored in the County Court House. These were to be destroyed to make room for more modern documents. This "find" included documents as early as the 1790's, with the bulk dating from the 1840's onward. To date, a part of this material has been catalogued, and arrangements have been made for such inventories to be deposited in the Public Archives of Canada at Ottawa and the Ontario Archives at Toronto.

A second important acquisition was made last month. Thanks to Indian Agent Cassie and his staff at Deseronto, the Society was able to obtain records from the Customs House at Deseronto dating from 1874 to 1920. These Customs Office records, which date back to the years when Deseronto was known as Mill Point and the Rathbun Lumber Company was the town's great industry, show the development of the town's trade for half a century. Included in this collection are books that show the arrival and departure dates for every freighter visiting the port, as well as the type of vessel, master's name, tonnage, number in crew, type of cargo, value of cargo, duty, and importer. These records cover the years from 1874 to 1896.

In addition to these two large collections, several other collections of importance have been acquired.

News of local historical activities is most appreciated and will be published as far as space allows.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1958

The Annual Meeting was held on June 12, 13 and 14, 1958, at Midland, with headquarters in the Y.M.C.A. Auditorium.

At the opening ceremonies, the President, Miss Lillian Benson, welcomed the delegates and visitors to the Sixtieth Annual Meeting of the Society and congratulated Mr. John M. Gray, Convener of the Convention Committee, and Mr. R. B. Moffat, Secretary-Manager of the Midland Chamber of Commerce, for their supervision of programme arrangements and events.

In the unavoidable absence of the Mayor, Mr. Reeve Keller warmly welcomed the representatives of the Society to Midland. As well, Mr. Frank Bray, President of the Chamber of Commerce, invited the Society to make use of its facilities.

Mr. W. H. Cranston of Midland, Chairman of the Archaeological and Historic Sites Advisory Board of Ontario, gave an address on "Huronian", covering a period of three hundred and fifty years in the development of the area.

Mrs. Gordon Lapp, of Meaford, presented a paper based upon her research into her family tree under the unique title, "Beware: Horse-thieves! Pirates! Witches!" (See pages 165-176 below).

The President announced an invitation from Mr. Dawson Leigh for the delegates to visit the Midland Public Library, abounding in books and pamphlets on Huronia.

So much interest was shown in the visit to the Huronia Museum that the Council Meeting had to be postponed. The delegates viewed a rather wide assortment of articles of dress, furniture, household gadgets, and tools. The most remarkable display was that of a Christmas creche, designed from the Indian point of view, with a longhouse for a stable and the Biblical characters endowed with Indian features.

At the evening session, Dr. Wilfrid Jury, Curator of the Museum of Indian Archaeological and Pioneer Life at The University of Western Ontario, as well as Director of the University's Summer School of Indian Archaeology, substituted for Mrs. Jury when he lectured, with the aid of slides, on "The Background of Huronia". He dealt mainly with the archaeological remains of Fort Ste. Marie constructed by the Jesuit Fathers, and the way of life in the settlement as revealed by a study of these remains.

Mr. Brian Doherty, of Niagara Falls, brought William Lyon Mackenzie to life again in a witty dissertation. Dwelling first on the poverty and peculiar circumstances of Mackenzie's early life in Scotland, he passed on to his failures in business in the old world and his successes in the new. As Mr. Doherty narrated the events of 1837, his audience followed the rebels in their advances and retreats along Yonge Street and witnessed

the happenings at Montgomery's Tavern. Admitting that Mackenzie was a fanatical reformer, Mr. Doherty asserted that the struggle for responsible government had to be fought in each generation.

On Friday morning, June 13, the Annual Business Meeting was held in the Y.M.C.A. Auditorium.

On the President's suggestion, it was moved by Dr. James Talman and seconded by Mrs. W. M. Robb that the Minutes of the 1957 Annual Meeting be taken as read. CARRIED.

Reports were presented by the President, the Chairman of the Museums Sections and the Secretary-Treasurer. (See pages 159-162).

Appointment of the Nominating and Resolutions Committees followed. For the former:

Dr. James Talman by Dr. R. A. Preston
Mr. Leslie Gray by Miss K. McCullough
Mr. H. P. Gundy by Dr. James Talman
Mrs. Mabel Warner by the President
Mr. Rae Stuart by the President.

It was then moved by Dr. R. A. Preston and seconded by Miss Margaret Banks that nominations close. CARRIED.

The Resolutions Committee was appointed as follows:

Dr. Hardy Hill by Dr. James Talman
Mr. A. D. McFall by Mrs. J. M. Wilson
Major J. C. Boylen by Mr. Leslie Gray
Mr. Herbert Staples by Dr. Talman
Mr. H. Campbell by Major Boylen

It was then moved by Dr. James Talman and seconded by Mr. W. N. Wade that nominations close. CARRIED.

The President stated that it had been reported to her that the Bible presented by Queen Anne to the Mohawk Chapel at Brantford was in need of repair and that it had been suggested that the Society might offer to undertake responsibility for this.

It was moved by Dr. James Talman and seconded by Mr. H. P. Gundy that the matter be placed in the hands of the incoming Executive. CARRIED.

A visit to the Indian Village and the Forget Site followed, during which the delegates were served a buffet luncheon in the refectory of the Martyr's Shrine. Father J. F. McCaffrey, S.J., Director, outlined the history of the site. He referred to the period between 1639 and 1649, when Fort Ste. Marie housed the central Mission of the Jesuits to the Huron Indians and mentioned the unveiling of a monument and the purchase of the hill property in 1925, and the opening of the church in 1926.

After this introduction, the delegates walked down the hill, crossed the road, and made a tour of the Fort Ste. Marie site under the guidance of Father Denis Hegarty, S.J.

Later, they witnessed the unveiling of plaques at the old military and naval establishments at Fort Penetanguishene and mingled with other guests at a garden party arranged by The University of Western Ontario.

The Annual Dinner at Delawana Inn, Honey Harbour, was attended by one hundred and fifty-nine delegates and friends, who had an unexpected treat when Nature provided a golden sunset which set the sky ablaze over the blue waters of Georgian Bay. Colonel B. M. Webb introduced the guest speaker, Colonel Charlès Stacey, Director of the Canadian Army Historical Section, Ottawa, as the author of two volumes dealing with the Second World War from a Canadian point of view, as the recipient of the Governor-General's Award in 1948, as a member of the Royal Society, as the President of the Writers' Foundation, and as a member of The Ontario Historical Society. The address appears on pages 153-159 below.

On Saturday morning, June 14, the Election of Officers was held in the Y.M.C.A. Auditorium.

Mr. Leslie R. Gray presented the report of the Nominating Committee, in the absence of Dr. J. J. Talman, the convener.

There were no nominations from the floor, and the report of the Nominating Committee was unanimously accepted. The officers are as follows:

President	Mr. John M. Gray
First Vice-President	Dr. J. M. S. Careless
Second Vice-President	Dr. George W. Spragge
Treasurer	Miss Edna Ash
Other Members	Dr. R. A. Preston
	Mr. Andrew Taylor
	Dr. A. S. Hardy Hill
	Miss Mabel Stewart
	Miss Mary Farmer
	Mr. A. D. McFall
Past President	Miss Lillian R. Benson
Ex Officio	The Editor
	Chairman of Museums Section

The Report of the Resolutions Committee was presented by Major Boylen and after an amendment the following resolution was passed by the general meeting upon motion by Major Boylen, seconded by Mr. McFall:

(1) That The Ontario Historical Society approves the project for the formation of a Junior Historical Society in association with the Ontario High Schools to further the knowledge and awareness of Canadian history among boys and girls and particularly to assist in the integration of New Canadians in each community.

(2) That this Society, having been advised of proposals to relocate Fort York on a new site in order to provide the present site for use in the construction of the Frederick G. Gardiner Expressway, would point out that the capital of Upper Canada was established in 1793 at Fort York by John Graves Simcoe, the first Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, under whose direction the structure was erected, and, whereas York, later Toronto, has remained the seat of government of the Province till this day, would also point out that in 1813 it was defended in battle against the invading Americans when the public buildings of the capital were burned and Fort York was almost destroyed, and, that Fort York today is one of the few original sites remaining from the important period when British institutions were established in Upper Canada and later extended to the Dominion of Canada:

Be it resolved, therefore, that this Society protests any action taken to remove the buildings and other structures of Fort York to another site and urges the governments of the Province of Ontario and of the Dominion of Canada to take adequate

measures to ensure the continued preservation of Old Fort York.

(3) That the Government of the Province of Ontario, through the Archaeological and Historical Sites Advisory Board, or other appropriate government agency, acting in co-operation with appropriate private and public authorities, make grants as may be necessary for the preservation of historic buildings.

(4) That thanks and appreciation be extended to the following who contributed so largely to the arrangements and the programme of the Annual Meeting:

Mr. R. B. Moffatt, Secretary-Manager, Midland Chamber of Commerce

Father J. F. McCaffrey, S.J., Director, The Martyrs' Shrine, Midland

Mr. W. H. Cranston, Midland

Mr. John M. Gray, Chairman of the Convention Committee, Toronto

Miss Jean Snaith, Secretary to Mr. Gray, The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited

The Board of Governors, The University of Western Ontario, through Mr. R. B. Willis, Secretary

Colonel C. P. Stacey, Ottawa

Dr. Wilfrid Jury

Mr. Brian Doherty

Mrs. Gordon Lapp

Mr. Rae Stuart

Mr. J. P. Lovekin.

In addition the following resolution moved from the floor by Dr. R. A. Preston, seconded by Mr. J. P. Lovekin, was carried:

Whereas it has been brought to the attention of this Society that, in some localities, local regulations prevent teachers from attending the Annual Meeting of the Society, which is normally held in June, and, whereas it is of obvious value that teachers should have active association with this Society in order to develop their interest in, and knowledge of, Ontario history, it is requested that the Department of Education take steps to alleviate this situation.

It was moved by Dr. Preston, seconded by Mr. Lovekin that a resolution concerning the hours which the Provincial Archives are open be referred to the attention of the Executive. CARRIED.

Attention having been called to the neglect and despoliation of Pioneer Cemeteries, Mr. H. P. Gundy moved and Miss McCullough seconded a motion that the Executive place this matter on its agenda for study and action. CARRIED.

Miss Benson introduced the newly elected President, Mr. John M. Gray, of Toronto, who then took the chair.

Following the business meeting Dr. Hardy Hill led a panel discussion on various phases of the problems involved in organizing junior historical societies. Mr. Rae Stuart, of Guelph, told of his experiences in organizing a group of young students into an active junior society. Mr. James Lovekin spoke on the importance of a magazine or publication to go to members of the junior society. He stressed the importance of securing quantity in holding down costs. Unfortunately little time was left for discussion owing to the large amount of business dealt with earlier.

In the afternoon about seventy members enjoyed a boat trip to Christian Island, the refuge of the Huron Indians and their missionaries following the destruction of Fort Ste. Marie I.

THE WAR OF 1812 IN CANADIAN HISTORY

By Colonel C. P. Stacey

[The following paper was presented at the Ontario Historical Society's banquet in the Delawana Inn, Honey Harbour, on the evening of Friday, June 13, 1958, as part of the programme of the Annual Meeting of the Society, held in Midland, Ontario.]

The War of 1812 is one of those episodes in history that make everybody happy, because everybody interprets it in his own way.

The Americans think of it as primarily a naval war in which the pride of the Mistress of the Seas was humbled by what an imprudent Englishman had called "a few fir-built frigates, manned by a handful of bastards and outlaws". Canadians think of it equally pridefully as a war of defence in which their brave fathers, side by side, turned back the massed might of the United States and saved the country from conquest. And the English are the happiest of all, because they don't even know it happened.

This evening I should like to look at that war as an episode in Canadian history and try to discover what its real significance for our country was. It's a suitable subject to discuss in this society, because so far as Canada was concerned it was largely Ontario's war. Quebec was constantly threatened but never really seriously invaded. The Maritime Provinces were protected by British sea-power, and the war gave them a not unwelcome opportunity of showing their patriotism by relieving their New England neighbours of some of their property. The seafarers of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick went out privateering, and what with that and other things the war years were prosperous ones down east; the Maritimes could probably have managed to put up with it if the war had lasted five years longer.

But here in Upper Canada the war was serious business. The province was a battlefield; large parts of it were devastated by invading armies; its people were kept in fear for three years; its capital was twice occupied by the enemy. It was inevitable that the whole incident should leave a deep impression on Ontario's history, and the nature of that impression is my subject tonight.

A few years ago, when staying at the Royal Empire Society in London, I found in its library a Canadian book I had never seen before. It was *The Report of the Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada*, printed at Montreal in 1817. It's a volume of something like 400 pages, and it tells you quite a bit about what this war was like to the people who went through it. The Loyal and Patriotic Society was formed at York late in 1812. Its first task was to provide winter clothing for the militia then defending the frontier; it went on to the job of helping the families of serving militiamen, and later it provided relief for people who had suffered by what it called the "predatory incursions of the

enemy". It got a lot of help in its good work from benefactors in other colonies and, still more, in England. Indeed, in the end it had several thousand pounds left over, and this money, donated by patriotic Englishmen to help the much-tried citizens of a distant province that had paid a heavy price for its loyalty to the Crown, was used to found a Provincial Hospital at York. That was the beginning of the Toronto General Hospital.¹

Every country has its historical legends, and Canada is no exception. One of the most durable of our legends is what I may call the Militia Legend of 1812. By that I mean the idea that during that war the country was defended by "the Militia" with only a little help from regular troops. I think this idea is still pretty widespread, and I suspect you can still find it in some school textbooks; but it isn't in accordance with the facts. It's perfectly true that the militia played an essential part in the defence of Canada, but it was still a secondary part. The country was not saved in 1812 merely by youngsters fresh from the tail of the plough. It was scientifically defended by men trained for the job. The battles on the border, particularly in the early days, were essentially a contest between ill-organized numbers on the American side and professional skill on ours. You won't find this in the schoolbooks: but Upper Canada was saved in the campaign of 1812 because the province was actually better prepared for war than the United States. It was better prepared because the British taxpayer had provided in Canada the essentials for successful defence. These were a naval force on the Lakes; an efficient body of regular troops, small, it is true, but equal to the job; and trained officers who could provide skilful and energetic professional leadership.

The regulars did more than supply the leadership. They usually did the lion's share of the actual fighting. Take a look at the casualty lists for the fiercest battle of the war, Lundy's Lane. The unit that lost most men there was the 89th Foot, a British regular regiment which is now the Royal Irish Fusiliers (Princess Victoria's). It had no less than 254 casualties, including 29 killed. Upper Canada's single battalion of Incorporated Militia, a long-service unit enlisted on a basis similar to regular troops, had 142 casualties, including seven killed. But the local units of the so-called Sedentary Militia, who had about 500 men present at the battle, had only 22 casualties and had exactly one man killed.² These were the actual lads from the plough tail; and that pretty well tells the story.

Please note one thing. I am not suggesting that Canadians did not play an important part in the defence of Canada. I am merely saying that the trained soldier was the key figure in the whole affair, and that the amateur soldier was much less important than he has been made

1. *Explanation of the Proceedings of the Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada* (Toronto, Stanton, Printer, 1841). C. K. Clarke, *A History of the Toronto General Hospital* (Toronto, 1913).

2. William Wood, ed., *Select British Documents of the Canadian War of 1812* (3 vols. in 4, Toronto, 1920-28), III, 156.

out to be. The fact is that a good many of the trained regular soldiers were Canadians. There were five regiments of "Fencibles", regulars raised in British North America. One of them was the Glengarry Light Infantry Fencibles, which everyone has heard of. They were not part of the Canadian Militia, but a regular unit of the British Army, raised here in Canada for the defence of Canada. And some of the individual Canadians who most distinguished themselves in this war were regular soldiers too. One of them was the famous Colonel Charles de Salaberry, the hero of Châteauguay. He was a Canadian, right enough, born at Beauport just outside Quebec City; but he was also a professional soldier, who had entered the British Army as a youngster and learned his trade in long years of hard service in the 60th Rifles.

All the same, let's give credit where it's due. And the chief credit for the saving of Canada in 1812 is due to British soldiers. No one can read the documents that tell the story of the events in Upper Canada in the summer of 1812 without realizing that this is so. It is at least possible that this province would be part of the United States today had it not been for the presence here in that year of one single battalion of British regular infantry—the 41st Foot, now The Welch Regiment—and an able and energetic British major general, Isaac Brock. Every Ontario schoolboy, I hope, still knows the name of General Brock; but how many of them have heard of the Welch Regiment?

The point I am trying to make is one that is important not merely historically but from the point of view of national defence. It is simply that a Canadian does not become a good soldier merely by putting on a uniform and simply because he is a Canadian. He has to learn the business like other people. The reputation won by our Army in the two World Wars was not won by untrained troops. By the time the Army of 1939-45 got into action it was actually better trained than any peacetime regulars have ever been.

I have sometimes wondered, if these things are true, just when and how the story got going that this country was saved in 1812 by "the Militia" single-handed. I found part of the answer, at least, in that book I spoke of, the *Report of the Loyal and Patriotic Society*. For in an appendix to it there is a document headed "York, 22d November, 1812. An Exhortation pronounced after the Sermon, or rather in continuation of it, to induce the Inhabitants to contribute to the comfort of the Militia fighting upon the Lines. . . ." The speaker's name is not given, but he can only have been the Rector of York, the Reverend John Strachan. He said:

. . . . It will be told by the future Historian, that the Province of Upper Canada, without the assistance of men or arms, except a handful of regular troops, repelled its invaders, slew or took them all prisoners, and captured from its enemies the greater part of the arms by which it was defended. . . . And never, surely, was greater

activity shewn in any country, than our militia have exhibited, never greater valour, cooler resolution, and more approved conduct; they have emulated the choicest veterans, and they have twice saved the country. . . .

Thus Dr. Strachan in November 1812. I cannot help comparing this statement with one written by General Brock only four months before, just after the outbreak of war:

My situation is most critical, not from any thing the enemy can do, but from the disposition of the people—The population, believe me is essentially bad—A full belief possesses them all that this Province must inevitably succumb. This pre possession is fatal to every exertion—Legislators, Magistrates, Militia Officers, all, have imbibed the idea, and are so sluggish and indifferent in their respective offices that the artful and active scoundrel is allowed to parade the Country without interruption, and commit all imaginable mischief. . . .

What a change an additional regiment would make in this part of the Province!! Most of the people have lost all confidence. I however speak loud and look big—³

What a change actually did take place in four months! What happened to transform the discouraged and hopeless community of July into the bouncing, optimistic, almost self-complacent province of November? What had happened, of course, was that General Brock, defying discouragements that would have hamstrung a lesser man, had taken the offensive. He had moved west with his tiny central reserve, and with a force composed partly of regulars, partly of militia and partly of Indians, but whose most formidable component was the 41st Regiment, he captured Detroit and with it an American army. This extraordinary and quite unexpected victory changed the whole aspect of affairs in Upper Canada. Brock himself wrote soon afterwards, "The militia have been inspired, by the recent success, with confidence—the disaffected are silenced."⁴ The province's spirits were further raised by the triumph at Queenston Heights in October, even though this cost Brock's life; and Canadians surveying the remarkable change that had taken place in their fortunes, seem to have had comparatively little trouble in convincing themselves that their militia had done it all. I suspect that if Brock had lived to hear that "Exhortation" delivered by John Strachan, it would have given him a lot of quiet amusement. He might have been even more surprised by the description of himself which I found last week in a new American history textbook: "the brilliant Canadian General Isaac Brock."⁵

3. To Col. Baynes, Adjutant General, 29 July 1812, Public Archives of Canada, C, vol. 676, p. 239.

4. To his brothers, 3 September 1812, Ferdinand Brock Tupper, *The Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.* (2nd ed., London, 1847), 284-6.

5. Richard Hofstadter, William Miller and Daniel Aaron, *The United States: The History of a Republic*. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1957), 175.

So much for that national legend. Another thing struck me still more forcibly as I read this yellow old volume published over 140 years ago. It presents a striking picture of a devastated province. Page after page of the appendices are lists of houses burned, property destroyed and people plundered, on the Niagara frontier, at Long Point, in the Talbot Settlement and elsewhere. We count up the 80 houses burned in the town of Niagara, the 14 houses burned in the village of St. Davids. (These two communities were victims of what were perhaps the most genuine "atrocities" committed by the Americans in Upper Canada. They were exceptional, for the war in general was conducted in a fairly gentlemanly way. But let's face it: no war is very gentlemanly. Warfare is an essentially ungentlemanly activity.)

We read only too clearly, between the lines of the accounts of the Society's gifts to the sufferers, the bitterness and anger of Upper Canadians against the invader who had brought these distresses upon them. We catch a suggestion or two of their delight in the "retributive justice" visited by General Drummond upon the equally unfortunate inhabitants of the American shore of the Niagara. We realize suddenly what a miserable experience this war was for many of the people of this province. It was a far worse experience than anything England had in the Napoleonic Wars; for England was never invaded. It was an ordeal calculated to leave an enduring mark on the minds of the generation of Upper Canadians who had lived through the struggle.

I turn again to the *Report of the Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada*, to the lists of directors who attended the Society's meetings; and I suddenly realize that what I am reading sounds like a rollcall of the Family Compact. The lists are full of the names of men who were members of the Legislative Council, or the Executive Council, or both, in the Compact's heyday. William Campbell, John Strachan, John Beverley Robinson, Peter Robinson, William Allan, Duncan Cameron, Thomas Ridout—one could go on much longer. These, and men like them, were the local leaders of Upper Canada during the war; and later they were the leaders of the Compact.

This was probably not accidental. It is quite likely that these men, who had helped to save Upper Canada, in the field and at the council table, in the greatest crisis in her history, felt themselves entitled to some gratitude and some privilege. But I think it likely that they also felt that they knew more than other people about the facts of life in North America. The people who had lived through the invasions had no inclination to take any chances on the British connection, and it is not surprising that they made the maintenance of the connection the central feature of their political creed. The prospect of any violent breach with Britain was abhorrent to them, largely I suspect because they considered it would be tantamount to annexation to the United States.

It is interesting too to note that not all the names of the directors of the Society are those of members of the Compact. We find among them also that of "Doctor Baldwin". William Warren Baldwin, we all know, was no Tory; neither was his son Robert. Both were reformers, but they were constitutional ones. The day was to come when a great Governor General was to say of Robert Baldwin, "I consider him of more importance to the [British] connexion than three regiments."⁶ Is it mere fancy to suggest that the Baldwins' moderation owed something to a provincial political atmosphere strongly influenced by the war?

One name, of course, is missing from the roll. It could not possibly have been there, for William Lyon Mackenzie came to Canada only in 1820. He was brought up in the United Kingdom in a political atmosphere very different from that in which Robert Baldwin was nurtured, and one in which of course Canadian experience had no part: the atmosphere of radical reaction against Tory repression in the days before and after Waterloo. Mackenzie being the emotional character he was, it is at least possible that if he had shared the experiences of the people who were living in Upper Canada in 1812-15, his political career might have taken a quite different turn. I am almost tempted to suggest that he might have become a pillar of the Family Compact!

The American invasions of Canada in 1812-15 did much, I am sure, to prevent the ultimate annexation of the country to the United States. The Americans, if annexation can really be said to have been their policy, played their cards extraordinarily badly. Before 1812, Upper Canada was getting more American every year as settlers from the States poured across the border. If the United States had only held its hand and refrained from violence, it would have had an excellent chance of absorbing the country peacefully at an early date. But the unsuccessful and destructive invasions of 1812-14 reversed the whole trend. A deep prejudice against the United States was created, or perhaps it would be truer to say, was revived and intensified. All the forces in Canada making for the maintenance of the British connection were immeasurably strengthened. The events of the war years made the permanent survival of British North America much more probable.

Turning to domestic matters, I feel certain that the memory of the War of 1812 was enormously important in the political life of Upper Canada in the next generation. It loaded the dice against Upper Canadian political radicalism and in favour of conservatism. It did a very great deal to strength the Loyalist tradition. It provided the stuff of a nascent Canadian nationalism—and I do not doubt that the militia legend of which I spoke, however shaky its foundation in fact, itself made a very considerable contribution to national feeling.

6. Elgin to Grey, 28 January 1850, Sir. A. G. Doughty, ed., *The Elgin-Grey Papers, 1846-1852* (4 vols., Ottawa, 1937), II, 584-5.

After all, it was the sober truth that the colony had been successfully defended against heavy odds. Upper Canada had come through a fiery trial. Great deeds had been done, and good blood spilled, upon its soil; and future generations of Upper Canadians would look back to the years 1812-14 as a heroic age, whose symbol was the tall shaft they erected on the battlefield of Queenston Heights. It is experiences and memories like these that make nations.

REPORTS PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING

PRESIDENT'S REPORT FOR 1957

Although there have been some disappointments and some worries during the year, I believe that we can safely say that the period between June 1957 and June 1958 has on the whole been one of progress.

In August Mr. John Gray and I met with Dr. C. F. Cannon, Chief Director of Education and several members of the Department. We placed before them the need of the Society for a full-time secretary or director who would be able to give leadership and assistance to local societies and museums and generally to stimulate interest in local history. Dr. Cannon gave us an attentive hearing and assured us of the Department's interest. Subsequently we entered a formal request for a grant of \$8,000 for the current fiscal year but our request was not allowed. The grant remains the same as last year, i.e. \$3,000. It is my belief that the Ontario Historical Society must raise additional funds by its own efforts, and, if we demonstrate our ability to do so, then an appeal to the Department might bring a more favorable response.

The membership committee, under the chairmanship of Dr. George Spragge, continued the campaign which was so successfully begun last year, and we are able to report another substantial increase in membership: to June 9th, 140 new members in 1958, making a total membership of 750 individuals, libraries and societies. At that date 75 persons had failed to renew their memberships. Since our last meeting we have lost the following members by death: Provost Seeley, Miss B. N. Bethune, Mrs. R. S. McLaughlin, Dr. J. B. Tyrrell, Mr. E. J. Case, Mr. W. L. Aiken, Mr. Frank Eames, Mr. W. H. Carroll, Dr. J. H. Holbrook, Mr. T. A. Reed, Mr. Ernest Melville, Mr. J. C. Backus, Lieut. Colonel Strange, and Miss Elizabeth Appelbe, who was a faithful attendant at our annual meetings for many years.

The ever growing interest in local history which was evident in 1957 has gathered momentum during this past year. The council at its meeting yesterday accepted applications from two new local societies for affiliation with The Ontario Historical Society. They are: Victoria County Historical Society and North Dufferin Area Historical Association. In addition to these, two other newly organized historical societies and two museums have become corporate members. They are: Oshawa and District Historical Society, the Hiram Walker Historical Museum, Hastings County Historical Society, and Paiponge Museum, Fort William.

We are pleased that several of these groups and others still in the process of formation have called upon The Ontario Historical Society for assistance. In several cases we sent speakers to organization meetings and by supplying information and sample constitutions were able to give help and encouragement.

During the year I had the pleasure of visiting several historical groups, the Wellington County Historical Research Society, the Lundy's Lane Historical Society, and the Niagara Historical Society. When I was at Niagara-on-the-Lake I was invited by Mr. Lloyd Oliver to speak to two of his history classes at the Niagara District High School. In March the Lennox and Addington Historical Society celebrated its fiftieth anniversary, and it was my privilege to be present at a reception which opened their "Historical Week." Our secretary, Miss Ash, attended the meeting which closed the celebration. In May I was present at the opening of the Hiram Walker Museum (the old Baby House) in Windsor. I am sure that many members of this Society know how long and how earnestly Dr. George F. Macdonald worked to save the Baby House, and we rejoice with him in the knowledge that it has been

restored and is to serve as a municipal museum. It is fitting indeed that it should house the George F. Macdonald Historical Collection.

Last October Miss Ruth Home, a member of our executive, was honored by the American Association for State and Local History with an award for her work with museums. The Lennox and Addington Society was also the recipient of an award from the same association "for the revitalization of this society into an active and productive historical force."

The microfilm project—the microfilming of municipal and land records—which was begun last autumn is progressing satisfactorily. Mr. Leslie Gray, chairman of the Microfilm Committee, reports that 1,692 reels of film have been made and many of these have been processed and are already on deposit in the Ontario Archives.

Dr. Hardy Hill and the members of his committee have continued to promote the idea of junior historical societies in the schools. In this endeavor they have received co-operation from the Department of Education and the Ontario Educational Association. We were granted an hour on the program of the History Section of the O.E.A. at their Easter Convention and the Ontario Historical Society brought Mr. Edward Rath, of the New York Historical Association to address that meeting. Mr. Rath is editor of *The Yorker*, the junior historical magazine in New York State.

In April your executive was suddenly confronted with the necessity of having to move our office from 206 Huron Street and to find storage space for the books in the basement room. The space occupied by our Society was required to permit a shifting of the Department of Education offices. Office quarters were found for us at 27 Surrey Place. The new accommodation leaves much to be desired. However, Dr. Spragge has granted us the temporary use of a room in the Archives in which to sort and check our books before placing them in storage.

I wish to pay tribute to Miss Ash, our secretary, and Dr. Zaslow, our editor, for the way in which they carried on the work of getting out our publications and notices while the move was in progress. I also wish to thank Mr. John M. Gray and Dr. Spragge, our two vice-presidents, who undertook the task of discussing arrangements with the Deputy Minister when the emergency arose and then of supervising the move from 206 Huron to 27 Surrey Place.

As a result of the focusing of attention upon the Society's office, an interesting offer was received from the Ontario Pioneer Community at Doon—namely that the Society consider building a permanent headquarters in the grounds of the Pioneer Village. Mr. Andrew Taylor, the administrator, in making the suggestion, had this to say in a letter dated April 27:

"We offer also the possibility of an Ontario Historical Society building constructed to your specifications as an integral part of our project. I visualize an arrangement similar to the New York State Historical Association at Cooperstown. Capital expenditures for such an undertaking are assured of a 50 per cent grant from the Ontario Department of Planning and Development—a very considerable start on finances.

"I think you know the setting: the Huron Road, a murmuring stream, an outdoor museum of pioneer life already beginning to take shape, woods known as the Homer Watson Memorial Park, Willow Lake, the Doon School of Fine Art, several hundred acres of Grand River Conservation Area; all not very far from centres of population, good train connections at Galt and Kitchener, very excellent motor contact through the new Highway 401."

This offer was discussed at a special meeting of the Executive and referred to the Council.

It was discussed again at the Council Meeting last evening and it was moved by Dr. Preston, seconded by Dr. Talman and carried: That the Council report to the Annual Meeting that a proposal from the Ontario Pioneer Community offering a permanent headquarters for The Ontario Historical Society had been referred to it by the present executive and is being referred to the incoming executive.

An alternative suggestion was made orally at the Council Meeting and the Council urges that members of the Society and affiliated societies consider this matter and forward any ideas or proposals in writing to the incoming executive.

The Council also discussed the following items and is referring them to the Resolutions Committee:

- (1) Preservation of historic buildings in Ontario
- (2) Preservation of Fort York
- (3) Preservation of pioneer cemeteries
- (4) Formation of junior historical societies

Before I conclude this report I wish to acknowledge the co-operation and willing assistance which I have received from all members of the executive.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-TREASURER FOR 1957

The financial statements of the Society for the year 1957 are printed, not quite accurately, on pages 96 and 97 of *ONTARIO HISTORY*, Vol. L, No. 2.

The Revenue for 1957 shows a considerable increase over that of 1956, due to the higher government grant, new memberships, sales of *THE VALLEY OF THE TRENT*, and interest from investments.

These are offset somewhat by an increase in expenditures. The membership campaign raised the cost of printing, postage, and office supplies well beyond the normal rates. The honoraria are slightly higher but the tasks of the recipients have become more strenuous. The Audit Fee is much higher for a similar reason.

From a simple cash book with extended columns classifying incoming and outgoing cash, the auditor found it necessary to prepare two complicated balance sheets because of the adjustments which had to be made from some accounts to others. I believe the following interpretation of these accounts, framed after the adjustments had been taken into consideration, simplifies the picture.

As of January 1st, 1958, or soon after, the General Account had to its credit:

(1) Investments in bonds	\$1,400.00
(2) Cash in the bank	1,230.66
(3) Cash on hand	9.55

The General Cruikshank Publication Fund had:

(1) Investments in bonds	\$4,400.00
(2) Cash in the bank	1,282.45

The Life Membership Fund had:

(1) Investments in bonds	\$ 300.00
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The Reserve Account had:

(1) Investments in bonds	\$5,000.00
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The Bequest Account had:

(1) Investments in bonds	\$ 200.00
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The Suspended Society Account had:

(1) Investment in a bond	\$ 100.00
(2) Cash in the bank	137.06

This amounts to \$11,400.00 in bonds; \$2,659.72 in cash; along with \$645.00 invested in 215 volumes of *THE VALLEY OF THE TRENT*.

Later, the Society purchased a one-thousand-dollar bond out of and for the General Cruikshank Publication Fund, reducing the bank balance of that fund to \$282.45.

As her part in the membership campaign from May 1st last year to February 1st of this year, your Secretary spent a part of each day in mailing out a mimeographed letter to a number of prospective members. In all, that meant typing 1,600 addresses, writing 1,600 names and writing her own name 1,600 times.

Meanwhile, 275 people applied for membership. Often it took thirty minutes to open and organize the incoming mail. Cheques were dealt with first. The necessary details were entered in the Cash Book. Membership cards were prepared by hand, file cards were typed, a list of names and addresses made for the President's use, addressograph plates hammered out for the new members or for other members with new addresses, and current issues of *ONTARIO HISTORY* mailed out, if due.

Early in 1957, notices were mailed to members who had not paid their fees. In October, invoices typed in duplicate or even in triplicate were mailed out to the 110 library members.

Four times during the year, the Secretary addressed the envelopes needed for the mailing of ONTARIO HISTORY, that is, a total of 3,000 or more, and put into storage some 800 copies of the publication. She also brought out of basement storage upwards of 300 publications with the aid of a dolly truck.

Banking was attended to usually once a week. Deposit slips were made out in duplicate showing the amount of each cheque and the name of the maker. There were times when it took half an hour to sign the numerous cheques, arrange the exchange of the American ones, and complete the deposit.

Almost 100 outgoing cheques were issued during the year. These had to be mailed to the President for her signature.

Your Secretary had to be on the alert to have on hand needed office supplies and to attend to the adjustment of office machines at opportune times.

A few letters requiring research were passed over to other members of the Executive. On occasion the authors were advised to make use of The Ottawa Archives, The Ontario Archives, and the Toronto Reference Library.

Occasionally visitors found their way to the office. They usually left with a membership or a book.

Your Secretary took Minutes at the Annual Meeting, the Council Meeting, and three Executive Meetings, and prepared copies for distribution to the members of the Executive Committee. As well, she presented reports at several of these meetings.

The sale of THE VALLEY OF THE TRENT, PAPERS AND RECORDS, and ONTARIO HISTORY brought in a revenue of \$1,000. About \$150 worth were disposed of at the Annual Meeting in Guelph and another \$150 worth at the Workshop Weekend held at the Royal Ontario Museum. Twice your Secretary packed over two hundred books in cartons, stowed them in her car, and, with some aid at the place of destination, placed them on display. Some 200 volumes were wrapped for mailing in the office. Fortunately, THE VALLEY OF THE TRENT comes from the publishers already packaged. However, these 400 volumes had to be addressed and carried a long block to a sub post-office.

Surely, this is enough to indicate that your Secretary led a fairly busy life in which physical energy and concentration of mind had their place.

REPORT OF THE MUSEUMS SECTION, 1957

By Andrew Taylor, Chairman

The Museums Section started as a Museums Committee appointed at the 1953 Annual Meeting of The Ontario Historical Society in Kingston. Two years later it was reorganized as a section. The titles of officers are—President of The Ontario Historical Society, Chairman of the Museums Section, and, when we organize a Workshop, Convener of the Local Committee.

The Museums Section has held five Workshops, the most recent at the Royal Ontario Museum, in October, 1957. A comprehensive report of the addresses at it has been compiled. A monthly News Letter, now numbering thirty-six issues, has been, and is being, published. We solicit museum and historical-society news items for it. Many of our earlier articles on museum work are out of print, and we are in the process of republishing them in handbook form. Since our "Listing Objects in a Small Museum" was publicized through UNESCO, requests for it have come from countries as far away as China.

In 1957, the tour of all of the Ontario museums by Dr. Carl E. Guthe, under the sponsorship of the Canadian Museums Association, has given impetus to the entire museum movement.

I wish to invite every one to the next Workshop being held in Brantford on October 3, 4, and 5.

We aim to draw all Ontario museums into a fellowship, to exchange ideas, to publicize new methods, to create new enthusiasm, to aid and encourage each and everyone. These are the tasks to which we are dedicated.

Secretaries of affiliated societies are requested to make certain that the information respecting their societies is correct and up-to-date.

MIDLAND, 1958

By Robert E. Saunders

[The writer has been asked to describe aspects of the Annual Meeting which could not be included in the Official Minutes presented elsewhere in this issue but which nevertheless deserve to be published in order to complete the picture of a memorable three days. THE EDITOR.]

The crowd began to gather on the steps and in the front hall of the Y.M.C.A. building in Midland just after Thursday noon. A brilliant clear day cheered the members as they drove from their homes all across Ontario to Midland, an ideal site for the annual gathering. A pretty town built on gentle slopes rising from Georgian Bay and overlooking a long inlet of bright blue waters, Midland is right in the heart of Ontario's oldest recorded history. And just as important, the facilities provided for the convention by the Chamber of Commerce and the "Y." were excellent. For example, the Huronia Historic Sites and Tourist Association made available to the members two brochures and an eighty-page booklet by J. H. Cranston entitled "Huronian, Cradle of Ontario's History", and the Chamber of Commerce the 28-page booklet "The Story of Simcoe County, Ontario's Beautiful Holiday Land in Word and Picture". Fine accommodations and good restaurants were to be found close at hand to the convention headquarters.

The meeting was called together at 2.30 p.m. and after cordial welcomes by Reeve Keeler and Mr. Bray of the Chamber of Commerce, Mr. W. H. Cranston gave us a personal welcome to his home country, the "Metropolis of Huronia", centre of eastern North American trade and commerce 350 years ago. The afternoon was completed with a fascinating account by Mrs. E. C. Lapp of the perils and the greater pleasures of writing a family history. After adjournment the members visited the Huronia Museum, and in the evening at the Y.M.C.A. two excellent talks were given by Dr. Wilfrid Jury and Mr. Brian Doherty.

The next morning after a brief business meeting we went on a bus tour of local sites of interest. First we visited the reconstructed Indian village on the shore above Little Lake. Entering the village we were transported into another world. The pungent smoke of burning poplar made our eyes smart, but when we could open them once more we gazed down the length of the magnificent reproduction village built under Dr. Jury's supervision. After this all-too-brief visit we went to the Forget site, an Indian village in the process of excavation by the Summer School of Indian Archaeology of the University of Western Ontario. There we saw part of the bared site, believed to be a village dating several centuries earlier than the period of French penetration.

After the strenuous morning we were greeted at the Martyrs' Shrine and enjoyed a delicious buffet luncheon, following which Father McCaffrey gave a short talk on the Jesuit Mission to the Hurons. Then we toured the site of Fort Ste. Marie overlooking the Wye River and, returning to

the bus, we proceeded to Penetanguishene to attend the unveiling of plaques at the old naval storehouse and military establishment on the east side of the beautiful inlet. The University of Western Ontario gave a delightful garden party in front of the old officers' quarters in spite of a menacing sky which seemed to threaten an untimely interruption to our enjoyment.

Friday evening was the high point of the entire convention. The members travelled by bus and by automobile around Honey Harbour over a very scenic route. The Delawana Inn provided a marvellous dinner as well as a location from which to admire a brilliant orange sunset across Georgian Bay. To add to the occasion Colonel Stacey's address was excellent, a veritable *tour de force*, in no way warranting his gloomy forebodings about Friday the thirteenth, a *Mariposa Belle*-type of voyage to Honey Harbour, or an encounter with a Mississauga rattler.

Saturday morning we gathered again at the Y.M.C.A. for a business session which was followed by reports on the Junior History Project from Dr. Hardy Hill, Mr. Lovekin and Mr. Stuart. Mr. Stuart enjoyed relative success with a society in his school at Guelph by keeping the club active, informal, and only appealing to those students who were interested, and he suggested that there was no great prize to be won by attempting to win everybody's interest immediately. Mr. Lovekin told something of the problems and benefits of publishing a magazine devoted to junior historians, and outlined some considerations of editorial policy, circulation, and the audience to which such a magazine should appeal.

In the afternoon we went out to Cedar Point and across to Christian Island in the Indian Agency boat. A warm, bright sun, a high wind, and a good deal of spray for those seated on the roof of the boat, all added up to a wonderful trip back and forth across the channel. On the island we saw something of the Indian community built virtually around the ruins of Ste. Marie II, where the Jesuit Mission settled briefly in 1649-50. Returning to Midland we visited the site of the Indian village where the first mass was said in Ontario by Father Caron (1615). And suddenly the programme had come to an end, and it was time to return to our homes.

This year's meetings were an outstanding success. The registration was one of the largest ever and numbered 145 persons. The papers and discussions were of excellent quality and most interesting. Those fortunate enough to attend will be able to recall with deep pleasure their enjoyable visit to Midland in June 1958.

A Book Notes section is being prepared to appear in the next issue. Information concerning items for possible inclusion should be mailed to the editor.

BEWARE: HORSE THIEVES! PIRATES! WITCHES!

By Eula Carscallen Lapp

[The following paper was read on Thursday, June 12, 1958, at the Annual Meeting of the Ontario Historical Society, held this year in Midland, Ontario.]

For a whole year I was as engrossed as a detective on a murder case, or a spy in a wartime ring. Clues chased round my head; dates danced before my eyes; history practically came out my ears; and sheer mental fatigue drove me to sleeping pills.

I thrashed my way through a confused tangle of correspondence. I struggled to interpret curiously tantalizing evidence. Times I was completely frazzled . . . Yet never have I had such exhilarating fun, nor entertainment so richly escapist!

I was writing a history of my father's family.

My mind was a hash of seventeenth century Scottish Covenanters; eighteenth century Irish weavers; New York Tories; Revolutionary War battles; refugee camps along the Richelieu; log cabins in Upper Canada—and meals three times a day (when hash wouldn't do.)

On occasion the wag in our family delighted to expose my rapt state by bursting into my den. "Say!" he would cry, "Have you heard the latest?"

"No. What?" (Wearily mopping my brow.)

"Ticonderoga's fallen!" He grins triumphantly as he slams the door. And once he yelled from another room, "I'm petitioning Governor Simcoe for two thousand acres—as the 'reduced' husband of a Loyalist historian!"

Others, when they heard I was writing a family history, reacted in two ways. The serious-minded were stricken dumb. Their pitying eyes revealed a stunned suspicion that I belonged in a ward for schizophrenics. The cordial, good-natured types roared, "Watch out! (or Beware!) You'll come upon some horse thieves (or pirates, or witches)!"

But whether folk were stunned or jocular, even the most pragmatic were *just a little fascinated*. A peek at any man's paternity, at the lineage which links him with the past, stirs up something basic within us all. So no matter how they may kid you, people are rather wistful when they hear of your delving. One friend, whose parents came to Canada from Czechoslovakia, sighed. "If only we had even a family Bible with names of a few ancestors! But my people lost everything—the country changed hands so often." He said sadly that he knew no family names back of his grandfather's.

This started me thinking about family Bibles. Should we revive this old custom of recording births, marriages and deaths in Bibles? A few people still do. I know one couple who gave their son and daughter each a large Bible for a wedding present, along with their other gifts. You say, our descendants won't have much trouble learning about us, since we live in a literate age, and will leave behind a surfeit of papers, statistics,

photographs—even tape recordings. Yet there is something about a Bible record to link the generations, as nothing else will. It seems the appropriate place to mark down those family experiences of joy and sorrow common to us all. You can think of your entries as a recording of history. And you will never know how grateful some descendant may be to find your notes!

In 1782, in one of the British forts along the Richelieu, my great-great-grandfather wrote in a family Bible of the death of his eldest daughter, Elizabeth. She was twenty-four. She had spent three years with her mother and young sister in refugee camps or billets, and earlier three years in a lonely home in the woods in New York Province, helping with the younger children after her father and three brothers had joined a loyalist regiment. After her death, her father, a lieutenant in the King's Royal Regiment of New York, somehow got a new Bible. It was published in Dublin in 1771. But whether it was sent him by relatives in Ireland, or carried in his soldier's pack from New York, or purchased on a trip to Montreal, I don't know. He seems to have been hospitalized at Verchères when he wrote: "July 6th, 1758—Elizabeth born. Departed this life July 17th, 1782." In the same Bible later, this ancestor recorded the names of his other children, their places and dates of birth. But it appears that the idea of keeping a record came to him after this sad break in their family circle. Two hundred years after Elizabeth's birth this terse entry provided an invaluable record for us.

If you keep a Bible saga of your family, be sure to write in ink. And if you possibly can, use a round, upright hand; it is so much easier to read than are long slanting letters. Spell all names out in full, and affix a date to every entry. And some descendant will surely rise to call you blessed!

During my "digging" period I was shown an old Bible belonging to a collateral family. In 1827 the great-great-grandfather of the present owner of the Bible had written about his family's arrival in Upper Canada. He followed with a list of his children and their birthdays. This one entry told us several things: first, that the trip from Dublin to Napanee took them three and a half months; second, that a certain Andrew among his children was not, as we had surmised, my grandmother's father. (He was born only ten years before she was.) Third, it established beyond a doubt that this family was related to ours some way. (Four children had uncommon names also found in the family of an ancestor of ours, who was Andrew's contemporary and neighbour.)

In this old Bible another detail interested us. The first child born in Canada was also the first to be given a second name. The habit of giving second names began early in the nineteenth century. The custom originated in France, spread via Scotland to England, and became common in America before it did in Ireland.

In the first quarter of the last century there was another custom concerning nomenclature—a custom to make genealogists gnash their teeth! In large families parents frequently bestowed the same Christian name on more than one child. The family of Andrew—referred to above—had two Georges. And, oddly, the second George, not the first, died an infant. Perhaps it was better? It would be hard all his life to be confused with George The First. In another of our collateral families we discovered two girls whose names were “Anne” and plain “An.”

Giving two children the same name was often because they were called after grandparents. When two grandmas had one Christian name, the parents seem to have reasoned that the only way to bestow honor on each was to name two daughters alike!

According to Elsdon C. Smith, in *The Story of Our Names*, “An ancient practice, now practically obsolete, is that of giving the same Christian name to *each* boy in the family.” We were relieved that this custom was outmoded before it struck our family! Your Upper Canada forefathers and mine relied first on the Bible, then on names of relatives or neighbours, when choosing names for their offspring. When the Old Testament and the family tree failed of inspiration, then their minds ran to the neighbours. But since the folk on the next concession may have been no relation to them, this custom causes many a headache for the family historian.

So much for what we learned from old Bibles.

Beyond keeping records in Bibles, perhaps your clan wishes to have a history compiled. If so the first step is to find the historian. Curiously enough, there seems in every family at least one person interested in its history. When you have found him and asked him to do the job, next present him with a deadline date. This will save time and avoid frustration for all concerned.

Meet early in the project to decide how to finance it. (No one without experience of printing has any idea how much cash is required to publish a small book.) You will be smart if you get promises from family members to contribute definite amounts, and an agreement that—should these pledges not cover total costs—a further assessment will be made. Appoint a treasurer too. He should not be the historian; *he* will be sufficiently occupied, without having to worry about finances.

Be definite. Be co-operative. Then if you complete the publication of your history without any name-calling, nor splits in the family, you will have proven your relatives a pretty fine lot. (However, if the sparks begin to fly, you had better give up while there's still time!)

In our family, my father and an uncle had written letters relative to our history, back and forth between Ontario and Alberta, for twenty years. The uncle also corresponded with another relative—whose name he picked at random from several strangers of our name in the Hamilton directory. The latter turned out to be a family-history enthusiast also!

And this friendship by letter lasted until death claimed one of them. All this correspondence became the backbone of the history which my family asked me to compile many years later.

This is by way of saying that your historian may need a collaborator. I think I should have burst without someone with whom to share exciting findings! I had two helpers at different stages—a cousin and my husband. (As a surprise by-product we discovered, though it had not been known before, that my husband's ancestors too had been United Empire Loyalists.)

Suppose now you have an historian, who has an assistant. What is it you want them to discover? What is to be their *slant*, as they compile this history of your family?

Any family in Canada for four or more generations should be interested in the question, "Why *are* we Canadian?"—rather than German, Scottish, Swiss (or whatever your distant forebears were).

In our family tapestry there are several national and geographical strands. But for the events in the life of just one ancestor, we would today have been Irish or Yankee. Then we might have been German, Scottish, Welsh or English—but for decisions made by even earlier ancestors. And of course the backgrounds of some families are more of a mosaic than ours.

As he delves into your history have your historian notice especially those events which finally culminated in your twentieth century Canadian citizenship. You will find that these events usually are the result of either convictions, persecutions or ambitions—hardly ever of pure chance. *The forefathers of most long-time Canadians wanted something very badly or felt something very deeply.* They needed to be either unusually devout, or loyal, or ambitious, to brave the wilderness of the Canadas and survive. Some of them, of course, were as stubborn as Scottish Chieftains; but you *can* say that most of them lived by their principles. This makes it both moving and fascinating to trace the trail that led to your comfortable home in Canada today.

Perhaps there still are a few people concerned about unearthing coats-of-arms for their stationery, or hyphenated names for their children, or a background studded with peers of the realm. Maybe "they have their reward". But for real dramatic interest, event upon event, and character after character, the scenes and characters in the drama which you might call "Why I Am A Canadian"—that is the thing!

For example, our three greats-grandfather Carscadden made four distinct new beginnings. No, he was not shiftless. He just had a passion for freedom, both religious and political. His life, which covered the last three quarters of the eighteenth century and sixteen years of the nineteenth, was chock-full of adventure, and heavily seasoned with responsibility, frustration and suffering. He had family roots in Scotland, where his forebears had been forced to flee as Covenanters—his boy-

hood in Northern Ireland, where his father was a weaver—served as a British soldier over a period of thirty-seven years—married a girl whose family had been Palatine refugees brought to Ireland by Queen Anne—spent several years in linen manufacturing in New York—moved to a remote valley in New York Province to farm and help found a Methodist colony with a group of Irish Palatines—joined the British with three sons when the Revolution broke out—lost everything as a loyalist, but after eight years of suffering, finally received two thousand acres from the Crown in Upper Canada. We think he was fifty-nine in 1784 when he began again to hew a home for his family out of the wilderness along the Napanee River. Eventually he and his sons, settled on adjacent lots, found peace and plenty, religious freedom and self-respect. (Eventually, but not soon, as the letters P.L. after their names on old lists remind us. They were on the Provision List in the Hungry Year of 1788, when the Loyalists would have starved, but for extra governmental bounty.)

So much then for *slant*.

Now a warning. Don't be too ambitious. Concentrate on your own branch. We became highly interested in one of the collateral names in our connection, that of Hawley. And in a Vermont village, founded by an early Hawley, we were tempted to spend too much time on the Hawley story. Further temptation came when we found, in the State Historical Library, a Hawley genealogy back to 1066! There are fifty thousand of this name in America today, all descended from one Joseph, who reached Connecticut from England in 1640. We decided the Hawleys could get along without us.

However, if family history becomes your hobby, you will find endless pleasure wandering down some of these collateral bypaths. One such brought us to a famous and charming woman, Dorothy Canfield Fisher. Staying near her Vermont home, we could not resist asking for an interview with Mrs. Fisher. And this well-known writer received us with gracious cordiality, simply because we have, as has she, some Hawley blood in our veins. Some day we'll spend more time learning what sort the Hawleys were, since my great-great-grandmother and my great-great-great-grandmother both had Hawley mothers.

In spite of the above, it is well not to take too seriously families which boast they can trace back to the year 1000. The plain fact is that, prior to the Norman Conquest, no one in Britain had a surname. These names soon began to appear, but only among the nobility. From 1066 to about the beginning of the eighteenth century, surnames had not "jelled". They were changed through whims, corrupted through illiteracy, and sometimes blotted out altogether through feuds.

If you bear an uncommon name, of course it will be easier to trace your history. Ours is not too prevalent. But one collateral name is as common in Scotland as Smith is in Canada. So it was little help to be

told that we were related to a man of this name so prominent as to have been buried in Westminster Abbey! In Scotland today, I read, one hundred and fifty names cover more than half the families! No wonder the Scots are clannish.

We started our delving by finding what we could about the origins of our name. If you have Anglo-Saxon roots, it is easy to determine whether your name is one of the four usual classifications: Occupational, Patronymic, Descriptive, or Local. (Any book on names in your library will give you more information on these.) Our name turned out to be a local (or geographical) one. The first syllable, in Gaelic, meant "fort": it seemed logical that there should be a connection between this and the fact that, for generations, the family had run to soldiering.

If your family roots were in the British Isles, you should find your name in at least one of the following books: *Surnames of the United Kingdom* by Henry Harrison; *A History of the Surnames of the British Isles* by Ewen; *O'Hart's Irish Pedigrees*; *Surnames of Scotland*; *A Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames* by C. W. Bardsley. If your name is not in any of these, it is certain your family were not originally from the British Isles.

After discovering what you can about your name, it is time to round up all family documents. What have you? Wills, diaries, deeds, letters, Bibles, photos, rare old keepsakes? We started with a few old land deeds. (Some were pre-Revolutionary War and represented the efforts of an ancestor to buy up land in the disputed New Hampshire Grants—to keep it from falling into the hands of hated Yorker landlords!). We also had several old wills. Most important, we had the long correspondence regarding what had been learned by two earlier family members. And this included an excellent bibliography on the Loyalists.

We filed all this material under headings. Most of the first reading was done at odd moments during busy days—or in bed. At first it seemed impossible to get names and relationships of ancestors straight. So we tacked a sheet of shelf paper, four feet long, on the wall beside the desk for a family tree. Coming upon a new name, or a date, we copied it on the tree. You might use ink of a different colour for your immediate family. If your father, grandfather and great-grandfather, for example, are marked in red, and the collateral connections in blue, your tree will be understood at a glance. Be sure to write small: the paper is certain to run out!

Now suppose you have digested all the family lore on hand, and you are ready to look farther afield. Where do you look?

This question will be greatly simplified if your family has been caught up in any movements; or has contributed to the founding of any institution; or has produced soldiers at any stage. We found records galore which our family had no idea existed! The reasons: our ancestors

were U.E.L.; they belonged to the first *and* the second Methodist societies on this continent; and many of them fought in the Revolutionary War and in the War of 1812.

Families whose ancestors were Episcopalians have a better chance of finding early records than do the former Methodists, because the Methodists of North America did not organize as a church until 1784. And in Canada their first ministers were itinerants—were for many years. Naturally saddle-bag preachers could not keep voluminous records. But the Episcopalians did. And since many early settlers of other beliefs were married by Anglican clergymen, it is well to see their records.

The most fruitful source of Loyalist records is the HALDIMAND PAPERS in the Dominion Archives at Ottawa. Cruikshank's *Settlement of the Loyalists* is another. Several county histories, like Herrington's *History of Lennox and Addington*, are available. In the above book we came upon a hitherto unknown anecdote about an ancestor when just a boy, and were excited to find it copied in two other histories—Canniff's and Ryerson's.

For records of British soldiers, write the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, W.C.2, London, England. If your forebear happened to be an officer, this office will have considerable information about him. (If not, you must know the regiment to which he belonged to get any help.)

Dominion and Provincial Archives will provide old land records, military lists and census returns. County Registry Offices can give you early deeds. And church records will provide births, marriages, deaths and sometimes baptisms. You may even learn something about relationships between families by noticing the names of the witnesses at early weddings!

During your research period you will meet a few local historians. They are interesting people. It was astonishing to us, on first meeting one such historian, to have him immediately produce a fat file on our family!

Both here and in Great Britain we had generous help from county clerks, librarians, real estate men, mayors of towns and many others. And often with no remuneration. Of course we paid small sums occasionally—to an historian who dug up an anecdote, to a church for searching two-hundred-year-old records. But most of our research cost only a little effort and imagination, plus a great deal of postage and some travel accommodation.

Old files of local newspapers make slow reading. But they will give you personal items and obituaries, as well as accounts of farewells. The latter often reveal to you what became of, say your grandfather's youngest brother. Or this kind of thing: (from the *Napanee Beaver* in

1900) "Mr. W.W.B.—, one time Chief of Police, Napanee, now of Lexington, Kentucky." You say, "Ho-hum" and start writing to Lexington.

Among the most rewarding hours we spent were those tramping through overgrown cemeteries. (Wear old shoes and stockings!) We waded through about twenty old cemeteries, both in Canada and in New England. It was poignant to see how families had been divided in allegiance during the Revolutionary War—one brother's grave would be found in Ernestown (Bath), Ontario, and another in the original home village, now in Vermont.

We found highly interesting also interviews with older residents of towns where relatives once had lived. Perhaps our host would dust off the velvet-bound album with the gold clasps, to show a tin-type of Great Uncle Luke, or a stiff family group, circa 1856. From an old person you may find the very clue you need. But check his information. One old gentleman gave us fascinating stories of our "great greats". But later we found he was a generation out! And one octogenarian, instead of clearing up a mystery, presented us with a new one. We were prodding his memory for the maiden name of a woman back several generations. We suggested several possible ones. After one of these, the old man snapped, "Certainly not that!" with so much feeling that we wondered what old enmity we had stirred up. We still don't know. (Incidentally, maiden names are among the toughest clues to find.)

It is a good idea to keep a Query Box or a Mystery File for all those missing links in your story. Long after your history is printed you will return to this with fascination—and determination, if the "history bug" has got you. One of our ancestors was left in his will a paltry five shillings—while all the rest of a large family inherited several hundreds of acres. Why? Later we read that the five-shilling fellow was decorated for bravery in the War of 1812. So whatever his father had against him, he could not have been a total loss.

Work out a system to make your research notes easy reading. Mark everything actually quoted; everything adapted; everything condensed. Learn to abbreviate and use indentations freely when copying notes in a library (or cemetery, or wherever.) It is helpful also to underline all names of people. One stunt we used was to make booklets for separate subjects from punched paper tied with different colours of yarn. For example, when we wanted to lay hands on the note about Wesley preaching on the lawn of an ancestor in Ireland, we knew it would be in the "Irish Booklet", tied with green yarn. The details don't matter; but a good filing system is imperative. After a trip to archives or library we typed our notes, made these booklets and deposited them in the right section in an accordion-type file. We could carry this file with us in the car wherever we went; and the booklets with coloured wool were chiefly to find specific material quickly when we wanted to consult it.

Genealogy is a mass of details; until the picture is so familiar that you can see it whole, it is better to rely on notes than memory. A good filing system then. Otherwise you will be biting your nails, trying to recall at a crucial moment, the name of great Uncle Ephraim's wife. It was at the bottom of a page, you remember . . . in the left corner . . . you copied it from that letter from Cousin Alec in Moose Jaw . . . then destroyed the letter (never destroy a letter) . . . By the time you have burrowed among your papers for half an hour for this detail, suddenly necessary for your story, your day is ruined. So we repeat: have a system of filing.

We visited all the places in North America of past significance to our clan. The first of these was New York, lower Manhattan, where "the originals"—as we dubbed the first to come to America—lived from 1756 to 1770. You might wonder what good it is to visit New York today (especially the cavernous financial district) to find out about folk who lived there two hundred years ago. The answer is in the churches, museums and libraries.

Of very great interest to us was old John Street Methodist Church. The first of this denomination in America, it was, as is well known, founded by an Irish carpenter named Philip Embury, with the inspiration of his cousin, Barbara Heck. John Street Church stands today between the City Hall and Wall Street. Because our great-great-great-grandfather was among those who subscribed to the first Methodist Society, and because his wife seems to have come from the same Irish village as the Hecks and Emburys (and the latter name is on our tree) we were fascinated with old John Street Church. Nearby St. Paul's and Old Trinity Churches were interesting to us also, as places the family would have taken communion, before the Methodist societies became officially churches. In the Museum of the City of New York we found vivid background material. We even saw shoe buckles worn by a former mayor of New York, who figured in our family story as a landlord! In fact, he was "the villain" from one standpoint, one of the hated Yorker landlords whom the people on the New Hampshire Grants resented so fiercely.

In the Rare Book Room of the Public Library, we read the city's newspapers of the 1750's and 1760's. First the formal screening, then the silent attendant at the heavy barred door to this hushed treasure house, created a feeling of mystery and privilege as we worked. Here only the past seemed real!

Wherever we went we found that an interest in history creates bonds between strangers. In New England some of our contacts were with the descendants of the rebel soldiers—or Green Mountain Boys—who around 1775 made life miserable for our ancestors. As we drove with two kind Vermonters, through the valley where our family had come from New York, we remarked that this must have been the route the rebels took

before the Battle of Bennington. Whereupon the native Vermonters looked completely mystified. "*The rebels?* Who were they?" one asked.

"That's what Canadians call your ancestors!" we said.

They laughed heartily. And we were reminded how time heals. We suggested they read some accounts of the Revolution written by Canadians; and they agreed to do so. (Most histories were written by Americans, with what is now usually admitted, an unfair bias.) However, after this experience, we were careful in Vermont, to refer to the rebelling Yankees of 1775 as "continental soldiers"!

Another time, in the home of a woman who has some ancestors in common with us, we asked about the history of her village. "The town clerk at the time of the Revolution," she said with real bitterness, "was a *traitor*. He buried all the records in a brass kettle, then escaped to Canada with the British. The papers have not been found to this day!"

I said, "Yes, I know. His daughter was my great-great-grandmother." I expected an icy reply, even to be shown the door. Instead my hostess immediately became very cordial! Another resident of that village told us that some of her neighbours were secretly proud of having some Tory or Loyalist ancestors.

We learned not to be timid about talking to anyone. For instance, in reference libraries, it is wise to come directly to the point (and odd, we were told, how few genealogists do). Don't start with some vague opening question about the eighteenth century. Librarians can spot genealogists! They are apt to bring you up short with something squelching, like "Did you wish some data on the Dinkleys?"

We even learned to knock on doors and ask questions, though it is against our nature. One day we found a farm of real significance to our story. It was not easy to knock on the door and say, "Would you mind if we came in? Our great-grandmother grew up here"! But the welcome of the present owner (no relation) was cordial. After showing us around, he gave us two old and valuable papers, found in the house when he bought it: a will of an ancestor of ours dated 1829, and a deed from the sale of this property—an original crown grant to a Loyalist forebear—when he sold to another relative. And to think, we might have driven by!

In the old French town of Sorel, at the meeting of the Richelieu and the St. Lawrence rivers, we talked to a retired journalist, a cultured Frenchman, who translated parts of a French history of Sorel for us. Our ancestors had been there in 1779—the men at the fort, and the women likely billeted in French homes. When we said our family had lost their home in New York Province, it had been confiscated by continental soldiers, the old gentleman looked puzzled. "But would they not have been better off to have kept quiet and remained in the colonies?" he said thoughtfully. I suppose I shrugged. Anyway, as if a great light had just dawned, he cried, "Ah! I see! Eet ees zee *preenciple*. Ah! Good,

good!" This is only one of the rich experiences we had talking to strangers interested in history.

As you unearth family lore, you will discover some traditions passed from generation to generation, but for which there is no proof. One historian urged us never to despise a tradition. Only a dramatic or significant incident, or a character-revealing anecdote, is likely to become a tradition in the first place. However it has become twisted, there is no doubt *some* truth back of it. Include these traditions in your history; but mark them as "traditions only". Someone may track them down later. One tradition in our family is that the Loyalists brought with them a Negro slave with rather a cute name. After 1793, when the slaves were freed in Upper Canada, this Negro is said to have built up a successful stage coach business between Kingston and York (Toronto). And later, being a shrewd business man, he opened a tavern on what is now the north-west corner of Bloor and Yonge Streets! The rest of this tradition is that most of the Negro population in Kingston is descended from this man.

Now the information regarding slaves brought to Canada by the Loyalists is scanty. However, we finally found this man's name—listed as belonging to another family. So we forgot all about this tradition. Then months later, we chanced on an article on slavery in Upper Canada. And in it was a definite reference to an ancestor of ours owing a slave. (To salve one's twentieth century conscience, this account said, "Nor was much thought of it at that time.") Now we believe it likely that the Negro with the cute name did belong to our family at one time—since slaves were sold back and forth among the Loyalists. But we have no proof. So we marked this story as a tradition.

It is wise to postpone the final draft of your history until you are sure you have all the answers you can get. Or until a printing deadline looms up. Even one small item, coming late, may invalidate whole pages of earlier information. After one of our chapters had been printed (in the Offset Process) a letter came from Scotland, giving for the first time the reasons why our ancestors had left that country for Ireland. This made unnecessary several paragraphs of conjecture. We had this chapter reprinted—a costly business, since four pages of an Offset book are photographed at one time.

We recommend the Offset Process for family histories, for these reasons: you can use as many pictures as you like, without needing cuts; a great deal of material may be packed on a page, without making difficult reading, provided your paragraphs are short; you may choose from many sizes of print, but good quality paper is always used.

We suggest that you leave two pages in the centre of your book for a family tree. Without this, it is hard for your readers to place the different generations.

As you dig up clues, write endless letters, interpret old records and soon, you will wonder if you are a jackass to get into such a mess! With the world of 1958 already moving too fast for comfort, why take time to go back to the world of 1758?

When you are finished, at the very least, you will have a livelier interest in history. And all names will hold a new fascination. Moreover, you will look with fresh understanding (and perhaps appreciation) on your relatives. You may even discover certain patterns—of interests, temperament, or occupations—showing up in each generation. You may also know yourself better. “So *that’s* where I get that!” you will think. (That tidy streak, or quick temper, or interest in philosophy, or dogmatic way, or whatever.)

I am a sixth-generation Canadian and proud of it. But before I started to compile a family history, I didn’t know the names of my great-grandfathers. You don’t find a sixth generation Vermonter who doesn’t know the name of his great-grandfather—nor a seventh generation one either! The seventh generation in our family—and in most Canadian families—wouldn’t have a clue on the subject of great-grandfathers!

Of course some of the New England respect for family background is silly. (It may be, as has been suggested before, an unconscious compensation for losing the symbolism and pageantry related to the Crown.) But it is also silly when Canadians turn their backs on anything which happened before World War I.

As you write your family history, you will often groan and say to yourself, “What’s it all matter, anyway?” Or “It’s all dead and done with!” It may be done with; but it is not dead. It is alive in your brothers, sisters, cousins, aunts, uncles and children. You will see them more clearly. And you will understand better something of what makes Canadians different from other peoples. That blend we have of earnestness, diligence, moderation, independence, irony and reserve will have more meaning, and your own life more depth, after your pursuit of the past. Besides, taking a careful and prayerful look at your own lineage should increase your sympathies with all people.

You will be reminded, too, as Kipling once said, how “deadly soon go we”.

THE ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Ontario Historical Society was organized on September 4, 1888 under the title of 'The Pioneer and Historical Association of the Province of Ontario' and adopted its present name in 1898. Its object is to develop the study of history, particularly that of Ontario.

Beginning in 1899 a volume of *Papers & Records* has been published nearly every year. These volumes, I to XXXIX, contain a vast amount of information about the history of the Province. Several volumes now are out of print, but the rest are available at \$4 per cloth-bound volume and \$2 for those with paper covers. In 1947 the name of the publication was changed to *Ontario History* and since the beginning of 1949 it has appeared in quarterly form. *Ontario History* is sent free to all members, and issues of previous years are available at \$1 per number or \$3 per volume of four issues. In addition ten special volumes of documentary material have been published, the details and prices of which may be obtained by writing the Secretary-Treasurer.

General meetings of the Society have been held annually in various centres in the province. These meetings have enabled members to meet with others who are particularly interested in local and provincial history, and to visit many of the historic spots in Ontario.

The several classes of membership are: corporate, \$3 a year, sustaining \$10 a year, family \$5, and annual, \$3. Life memberships are \$50. Membership is open to all societies and individuals interested in the history of Ontario. Fees should be sent to the Secretary-Treasurer, 27 Surrey Place, Toronto 5.

The Executive Committee is: President, Mr. John M. Gray; First Vice-President, Professor J. M. S. Careless; Second Vice-President, Dr. George W. Spragge; Secretary-Treasurer, Miss Edna Ash, 27 Surrey Place, Toronto 5; Immediate Past-President, Miss Lillian R. Benson; Additional Members, Dr. R. A. Preston, Mr. Andrew Taylor, Dr. A. S. Hardy Hill, Miss Mabel Stewart, Miss Mary Farmer, Mr. A. D. McFall, and Dr. M. Zaslow (Editor, *Ontario History*).

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES AND MUSEUMS IN ONTARIO

affiliated with The Ontario Historical Society
27 Surrey Place, Toronto 5.

- Ancaster Twp. Historical Society.** Sec.-Treas., Mr. Wm. C. Whitfield, R.R. 3, Dundas.
- Brant Historical Society.** Sec., Miss Elizabeth Wood, 96 St. George St., Brantford.
- Bruce County Historical Museum.** Sec.-Treas., Mrs. T. J. Cornish, Box 446, Chesley.
- Dufferin Area Historical Association.** Treas., Mr. A. Russell, Orangeville, Ont.
- Dundas Historical Society.** Sec., Miss A. Briggs, 6 Hope St., Dundas.
- Essex County Historical Association.** Sec., K. H. D. Hall, 451 Park St. W., Windsor.
- Essex Historical Society.** Dr. G. F. Macdonald, Box 187, Windsor.
- Fenelon Falls and District Historical Society.** Corr.-Sec'y., Miss Bessie Nie, Fenelon Falls.
- Fort Erie Historical Society.** Cor. Sec., Mrs. S. H. Raymond, Fort Erie, Ont.
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- Head-of-the-Lake Historical Society.** Sec., Miss Mary H. Farmer, 83 Charlton Avenue West, Hamilton, Ontario.
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- Lincoln County Historical Society.** Sec., Miss K. E. Duff, 52½ Thomas Street, St. Catharines.
- London and Middlesex Historical Society.** Sec., Miss Helen Mason, 540 Colborne St., London, Ont.
- Lundy's Lane Historical Society.** Sec.-Treas., Mrs. Charles Ferris, 2482 Thorold Road, Niagara Falls, Ontario.
- Macnab Historical Association.** Sec., Miss Hilda Ridley, P.O. Box 101, Sudbury.
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- Norfolk Historical Society.** Sec.-Treas., Miss Grace King, Simcoe.
- Norwich Pioneers Historical Society.** Sec., Mrs. N. Lees, Norwich.
- Oakville Historical Society.** Sec., Mrs. Ross Blaikie, 63 Navy Street South, Oakville, Ontario.
- Orillia Historical Society.** Sec., Miss Mary Sheridan, Public Library, Orillia.
- Ottawa Valley Historical Society.** Corr.-Sec., Miss Doris Cameron, 451 Miller Street, Pembroke.
- Oxford Historical Society.** Sec., Laverne S. Johnson, Mount Elgin.
- Oxford Museum.** City Hall, Woodstock.
- Parry Sound Historical Society.** Sec., Mr. Adam M. Brown, Box 82, Parry Sound.
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- Peterborough City and County Historical Society.** Sec., Mrs. R. G. Maniece, R.R. No. 9, Peterborough.
- Port Hope and District Historical Society.** c/o Mr. Stuart Ryan, Q.C., 2 Cavan Street, Port Hope.
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- U.E.L. Assn., Gov. Simcoe Br.—Corr.-Sec'y.,** Mr. Macaulay Pope, 521 Briar Hill Ave., Toronto 12.
- U.E.L. Assn., Toronto Br.—Sec.** Miss Ethel Ross, 30 Prince Arthur Ave., Toronto.
- Victoria County Historical Society.** Sec., Mrs. Doris M. Acheson, 56 Colborne Street West, Lindsay, Ontario.
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- Women's Wentworth Historical Society.** Sec., Mrs. George C. Gage, 248 Park St. S., Hamilton.
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